

ajer

**THE ALBERTA JOURNAL OF
EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH**

VOLUME XXXIV

NUMBER 3

SEPTEMBER 1988

**PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA • EDMONTON**

THE ALBERTA JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Published in March, June, September, and December by
the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta

A quarterly journal devoted to the dissemination, criticism, interpretation,
and encouragement of all forms of systematic enquiry into education and
fields related to or associated with education.

EDITOR: Walter H. Worth

CONSULTING EDITORS

Reno A. Bosetti,
Alberta Department of Education

Robert C. Bryce,
University of Regina

Janet A. Donald,
McGill University

Michael G. Fullan,
University of Toronto

Jane Gaskell,
University of British Columbia

Myrna L. Greene,
University of Lethbridge

Lilian G. Katz,
University of Illinois

Joanne C. Keselman,
University of Manitoba

John McLeod,
University of Saskatchewan

Alan R. Pence,
University of Victoria

Lauran H. Sandals,
University of Calgary

Hugh A. Stevenson,
University of Western Ontario

Keith C. Sullivan,
Dalhousie University

Jaap Tuinman,
Simon Fraser University

John D. Wilson,
Moray House College of Education

FACULTY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Thomas O. Maguire (Chair) Erwin Miklos

Alton T. Olson Fern Snart

AJER gratefully acknowledges support from the Social Sciences and
Humanities Research Council of Canada and from the Alberta Advisory
Committee for Educational Studies.

The subscription rate is \$32.00 per year for individuals, \$40.00 per year for
institutions. Add \$8.00 for delivery outside Canada. Single copies are \$8.00
each. Please make cheques payable to *The Alberta Journal of Educational
Research*. All back issues are available; rates supplied on request. Claims for
undelivered copies must be received within three months of publication.

Address all communications and manuscript submissions to *The Alberta
Journal of Educational Research*, Faculty of Education, Publication Ser-
vices, 4-116 Education North, University of Alberta, Canada, T6G 2G5.

SECOND CLASS MAIL REGISTRATION NUMBER 1436



Faculty of Education
University of Alberta

ISSN 0002-4805

The Alberta Journal of Educational Research

Volume XXXIV, Number 3

September 1988

Adult Education in International Perspective

C.A. Torres (Guest Editor)

INTRODUCTION: International Perspectives

- on Adult Education 199
C.A. Torres

Critical Perspectives

- Nonformal Education for Industrialization in
Latin America: The Human Capital Approach 203
T.J. La Belle

- What Have National Literacy Campaigns
Taught Us? 215
R.F. Arnove and H.J. Graff

- Literacy in Canada:
A Critique of the Southam Report 224
W.T. Fagan

- Adult Education, Economy, and State in Canada 232
R.S. Pannu

Research Settings and Outcomes

- Adult Education and Training in Mexico 246
S. Schmelkes and L. Narro

- Adult Education, Literacy Training,
and Skill Upgrading in Tanzania 259
S. Sumra and Y. Bwatwa

- An Analytical Framework for
Adult Education in Alberta 269
C.A. Torres

- Preparation of Adult Educators in Alberta 287
J.M. Small

The Evolution of Indian Adult Education Programs in Alberta	294
<i>R.J. Carney</i>	

New Departures

Participatory Research: A New Research Paradigm?	310
<i>P. Latapí</i>	

Framework for a Comparative Study of Adult Education Policy Implementation in Mexico, Tanzania, and Alberta	320
<i>M.K. Bacchus and C.A. Torres</i>	

INTRODUCTION

International Perspectives on Adult Education

Carlos A. Torres
University of Alberta

This issue of *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* is developed around the theme of adult education from international perspectives. The growing importance of adult education as human resource training world wide calls for a comparative assessment and understanding of the role and functions of adult education in diverse settings within the global community.

The stimulus for the issue and the focus of many of the articles is a comparative research project on adult education policy implementation in Tanzania, Mexico, and Alberta that is presently being conducted in partnership by the Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta (Canada); the Department of Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania); and the Centre for Educational Research (Mexico). The financial support for this research has been generously provided by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa.

The issue takes advantage of independent, although related, research on adult education conducted at the University of Alberta in several departments (i.e., Elementary Education, Educational Foundations, and the Master's Program in Adult and Higher Education). Additionally, it benefits from the contribution of several scholars such as Thomas La Belle, Robert Arno, Harvey Graff, and Pablo Latapí, all of whom have published important and influential books on the subject in the last two years.

Throughout this issue, the basic assumptions of mainstream adult education regarding the role and functions of the programs of adult basic education, literacy training, and skill upgrading are viewed critically from an international perspective. There are two striking features common to adult education programs and policies world wide. They are based on a conspicuous ideology of liberal individualism (Keddie, 1980, pp. 45-64) that is further reflected in the dominant paradigm of human resource training based on the Human Capital Theory (La Belle, 1986, pp. 77-168; 1987). Accordingly, adult education seems to be preparing individuals to enter the labor market in a better position in terms of skill training; helping them to become better citizens; making them aware of their rights and responsibilities; improving their life chances by widening their range of options in

Dr. Torres is an assistant professor with the Department of Educational Foundations and guest editor of this issue.

communication skills and health care; or simply catching up with their own education, either after dropping out of or having had no opportunity to attend the formal schooling system.

Second, for many, adult education is an area apparently detached from the realm of values and devoid of ideological confrontations (who could disagree that literacy training is good, in and of itself?). This in turn is reflected in the lack of a consistent, systematic, and comprehensive theorization on adult education matters (Giroux, 1983; Jarvis, 1985). It may be argued that adult education policies are the result of wishful thinking, good intentions, empirical judgment, or trial and error approaches, more than of critical or even conventional theory and theorizing. Indeed, there is a lack of theoretical analysis from any perspective in adult education policy and programs.

Obviously, it would be unfair to expect the articles contained in this thematic issue to fill the gap in theory building in adult education. Similarly, it should not be expected that all the articles describe and analyze in detail all the elements involved in adult education programs, policies, and practices within the different research and policy settings. Whatever their collective imperfections may be, they reflect different understandings of the role, function, and mission of adult education in a fast-paced world of change which, in turn, mirrors the ambiguous nature of the field itself.

Examples of the different understandings of what adult education is all about are to be found in the proceedings of two major UNESCO world conferences on adult education. The Third Conference¹ took place in Tokyo in 1972 under the title "Adult Education in the Context of Continuing Education." At this conference, the term *functional literacy* was coined and subsequently adopted worldwide. The intention was to point to the relationship that should be achieved between literacy training and socioeconomic development, including political participation.

The conference recommendations concluded that adult education should be considered: (a) an instrument of conscientization,² of socialization, and of social transformation that wishes to create a society that is aware of the values of social solidarity; (b) an instrument for the development of the total *social being*, conceived in the holistic sense of the world of work, leisure time, civic life, and family life that would tend to improve the physical, moral, and intellectual life of societies and individuals; (c) an instrument to prepare for productive activity and the management of economic enterprises; and finally, (d) an instrument of struggle against economic and cultural alienations and the elaboration of a national, liberating, and authentic culture.

Fifteen years later, the Fourth Conference took place in Paris, called "The Development of Adult Education: Aspects and Trends." It drew attention to the importance of adult education in the process of democratization within societies, stressing in the final recommendation that all members of a society have the following rights and that adult education should help in accomplishing these rights: (a) the right to read and write; (b) the right to criticize and analyze; (c) the right to imagine and create; (d) the right to in-

interpret their own reality and write their own history; (e) the right of access to educational resources; and (f) the right to develop individual and collective capacities.

Because UNESCO works with agreements that capture the collective consensus of the international participants on the issues being discussed, these recommendations ought to be generalizable. Unfortunately, the general recommendations and the basic documents produced by these conferences have not led to conceptual clarity about what adult education is or ought to be. What Lowe noted in 1975 is largely true today. The term is still regularly used in three ways: (a) to designate the education of adults; (b) to describe collectively all the persons and agencies in a country or globally which provide for education of adults; and (c) to specify an area of academic scholarship (p. 20). Moreover, the problem of definition is compounded by the use of terms considered similar, synonymous with, related to, or included in the adult education field such as nonformal education, distance education, open education, postsecondary education, lifelong education, community development, human resources development, continuing education, popular education, workers' and trade-union education, cooperative education, and adult basic education. It is fundamental to classify exactly the different subjects of study in adult education.

The content and organization of this thematic issue is intended to enhance our understanding of the nature and the promise of adult education. It begins with a series of articles that attempt to clarify a number of theoretical issues. La Belle assesses the human capital approach to industrialization in South America and the Caribbean, while Arnove and Graff offer some insights about literacy campaigns from an historical and comparative analysis of experience in many countries. From a Canadian perspective, the meaning and measurement of literacy are examined by Fagan, and Pannu looks at the forces that shape the political economy of adult education. Five articles follow providing descriptions of adult education systems and subsystems. Schmelkes and Narro sketch the programs and problems of adult education in Mexico, and Sumra and Bwatwa do likewise for Tanzania. Certain features of the Alberta scene are elaborated and appraised: Torres outlines an analytical framework for adult education; Small reports on the preparation of adult educators; and Carney traces the evolution of adult native education. The issue concludes with two articles dealing with the conduct of research. Latapí evaluates the premises and potential of participatory research. The main dimensions of the comparative research project noted earlier are summarized by Bacchus and Torres.

This endeavor would not have been possible without the cooperation, talent, and hard work of all the authors; the support and help of the regular editor, Wally Worth; and the assistance of Barbara Shokal, Elizabeth Lange Christensen, Kate Ballash, and Naomi Stinson in the publication process. The grants-in-aid from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the Department of Educational Foundations are also much appreciated.

As guest editor of this issue, I should offer to all of them my apologies for continuously posing pressing demands on top of their already busy schedules, and I thank them for making the organization of this issue an enjoyable experience. If the readers find this issue useful for their research, teaching, and practical activities, its purpose will have been accomplished.

Notes

1. The First World Conference sponsored by UNESCO took place in Elsinore in 1949 in the aftermath of World War II and in the context of a devastated Europe. Its title was "World Conference on Adult Education." The Second Conference took place in Montreal in 1960 in an improved material, economic, and political context. Not surprisingly, the title of this conference was "Adult Education in a Changing World" (Gajardo, 1985).
2. The neologism "conscientization" is a term coined by the Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire and accepted world wide as an important contribution to adult education. For a discussion of the term, see Freire (1985).

References

- Freire, P. (1985). *The politics of education. Culture, power and liberation*. Amherst: Bergin & Garvey.
- Gajardo, M. (1985). Educación de adultos: De Nairobi a Paris. *Revista Latinoamericana de estudios educativos*, XV(3), 69-82.
- Giroux, H. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*. Amherst: Bergin & Garvey.
- Jarvis, P. (1985). *The sociology of adult and continuing education*. London: Croom Helm.
- Keddie, N. (1980). Adult education: An ideology of individualism. In J.L. Thompson (Ed.), *Adult education for a change* (pp. 45-64). London: Hutchinson.
- La Belle, T.J. (1986). *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, reform or revolution?* New York: Praeger.
- La Belle, T.J. (1987). Nonformal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Status and trends. *Third World Affairs* (Yearbook, pp. 434-446). Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies.
- Lowe, J. (1975). *The education of adults: A world perspective*. Toronto: UNESCO-OISE.

THOMAS J. LA BELLE

University of Pittsburgh

Nonformal Education for Industrialization in Latin America: The Human Capital Approach

Human resource training strategies, based on a human capital approach, have been the dominant paradigm for social change during the 1950-1970s in Latin America. Policy makers, practitioners, and scholars have argued that this educational approach was a precondition for the continuance of the industrial growth model that has been followed in the region. This article examines both the assumptions and the outcomes of the industrial growth model that incorporates human capital strategies and offers a critical assessment of the nonformal educational strategies of technical/vocational training, diffusion of information, and community organization.

Industrial development has been the objective of most change-oriented programs in Latin America and the Caribbean since the turn of the century. Although such development was often implicit rather than explicit in national efforts until the 1940s and 1950s, the model of development has been based on industrial growth complemented by manufacturing, agricultural investment, and extraction of basic minerals.

Over time, according to the model, the economy will expand and diversify its agricultural and industrial production, thereby creating employment opportunities, higher wages, and consumer products to foster a better standard of living. The modern sector is expected to expand and spread throughout all areas of the economy. Ultimately, it should incorporate the more traditional sectors and thereby provide more productive and higher income activities for the poor.

Often referred to as the trickle-down approach in the development process, this industrialization model posits education as an investment in human capital for achieving social and economic progress. Harbison (1973), for example, speaks about the importance of maximizing skill and knowledge through training followed by the effective utilization of that developed human capital through the creation of jobs. The consequences of such steps are to be economic growth, enhanced levels of living, and a more equitable distribution of income. In accordance with the equilibrium assumptions of this theory, formal and nonformal education are used to socialize the population to participate as citizens in the nation's existing political, economic, and cultural institutions. Likewise, education is intended to provide skills necessary to manage the various aspects of an in-

Dr. La Belle is Dean of the School of Education and the author of *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1986).

dustrial economy and to facilitate its growth through the adoption and use of modern technology. Education is also intended to rationalize the borrowing and adoption of skills and knowledge from the United States and Western Europe, where the process of industrialization is well developed.

For much of the 20th century, out-of-school education for human resource development has evolved from one label to another in response to various economic and political incentives. Each of these efforts—agricultural extension, literacy programs, fundamental education, community development, integrated development, cooperatives—has been tried and assessed. Often the origin of these adopted patterns can be traced to outside influences such as that of the United States in agricultural extension or UNESCO in adult basic education.

By the 1950s, community development became prominent as a concept for dealing with the comprehensive nature of social action at the local level. However, by the mid-1970s, there was a growing recognition of the complexities of local-level change and a realization that a single intervention, like adult basic education or agricultural extension, would not be effective in isolation from other equally important elements (Kotter, 1974). The result of this posture was the application of U.S. and multilateral support to integrated development efforts that were coordinated either by a single agency or by a combination of agencies. Put aside were the self-help and psychological emphases of community development. In their place were installed multiple interventions aimed at simultaneously changing many aspects of the community, including credit arrangements, applied technology, land reform, group organization, and knowledge transmission. All of these were geared primarily toward economic ends. Cooperatives were often chosen as a means to organize the population economically.

Critique of the Industrial Model

While all these nonformal education efforts have been designed to contribute to industrial growth, they typically have fallen short of expectations in promoting modern skills, attitudes, and behaviors among the poor. Although the industrial growth model often appears successful because of the reliance on macroeconomic indicators like the GNP to judge its progress, the reality of Latin America and the Caribbean is often local dependency, repression, inequality, and poverty (Figueroa Unda, Gallardo, & Lafarga, 1979). Is unequal development inherent in the industrial model and the capitalist system? Do nonformal education programs within the industrial model actually contribute to the elite's position of wealth and power?

Affirmative answers to these questions come from the most vocal critics of the industrialization growth model. Their critique begins by pointing to two modes of production, typically referred to as the capitalist and the traditional modes. The capitalist mode is characterized by workers who do not own what they need to secure their livelihood, but who sell their labor for wages in factories, large business offices, and modern plantations. The traditional mode of production is characterized by producers who own or exercise considerable control over the means of production such as in family farming, communal production, or handicraft production. As the economy

expands to process raw materials and to manufacture machinery and equipment for the industrial sector and its subsidiaries, it is necessary that labor be recruited from those involved in the traditional mode. Recruitment is carried out through mechanisms primarily determined by capitalists and includes both formal and nonformal education processes as education is unavoidably intertwined with the main economic relations of a society (Bowles, 1980).

Because the success of the capitalist mode depends on keeping the size and cost of the labor force low, capitalist interests promote a reserve set of potential wage earners ready to assume the responsibilities of those who are currently employed. Carnoy (1980) argues that in dependent economies, unemployment will be higher among the poor because they are less schooled and are in less demand than their middle- and upper-class counterparts. He says that the unemployment problem must be understood as being dependent on those who make the decisions regarding the demand for labor, the adoption of labor-saving technology, the choice of production, the working laws and conditions, and the methods of production on the factory floor, rather than on educational curricula and the training process. Ibarrola and Reynaga (1983) complement this position by pointing to the primacy of the job and workplace rather than educational preparation in explaining industrial productivity.

The capitalist class in the region must acknowledge its own dependent position relative to worldwide political and economic decision making and the need to align with government to secure stability. As government must contend with the power of multinational capitalists, and because it secures its funds for the public sector from economic growth, government tends to support the capitalist class in its industrial goals. As the industrial growth process depends on the traditional sector for labor recruitment, it finds that individuals from that sector do not possess the skills and attitudes necessary to be successful wage earners. Human capital formation, therefore, is designed to produce a labor force that is skilled as well as resigned to working productively in a hierarchical system which depends on compliance and commitment.

Educational programs assist in this process by pursuing a prescriptive curriculum and pedagogy that are in the interests of the state, that are teacher centered as opposed to student centered, and that act as sorting and recruiting mechanisms to ensure that the capitalist mode can continue to reproduce the existing social relations of production. Relatively little learner initiation or participation in educational decision making is fostered, and the learner becomes a client whose compliance, discipline, and ability to follow instructions are rewarded.

Along with the unequal benefits derived from the industrial growth model, thus exacerbating the gap between rich and poor, educational programs that serve this framework are viewed as perpetuating a two-tiered educational system. The bottom tier, intended for the masses, offers limited educational provision of low quality, while the top tier involves extensive schooling of relatively high quality for the selection and training of

members of the dominant class. Nonformal education is generally associated with the bottom tier because, compared with formal schooling in the region, it receives little investment, and the learning it promotes among the poor—primarily manual skills—ultimately benefits the capitalists or other dominant elites, for it is they who control production (Rebeil, 1979; Torres, 1983). Because education is perceived as a means of socioeconomic mobility, its demand is high from the lower class as they wish to gain access to a better quality of life. But because the probability of succeeding in educational programs, in and out of schools, is much lower among the poor, they often become frustrated and inclined to blame themselves for their failure (Tovar Gómez, 1980).

In sum, critics argue that the lack of success in most nonformal education programs—whether it is literacy, basic education, agricultural extension, community development, integrated development, or cooperatives—has less to do with the strategies and methods adopted than it does with the dynamics of the industrial growth model.

Human Resources Strategy

The development of human resources as a nonformal education strategy reflects the age-old view that a nation's prosperity is determined mainly by the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which its labor is generally applied. In the 1950s and 1960s, economists began referring to this view as human capital or a concern with the workforce and its contribution to economic development. Gordon (1972) characterizes the orthodox economic assumptions underlying the human capital approach as follows: product and labor markets are competitive; firms attempt to maximize profits; workers seek to maximize earnings; and the labor force has both knowledge and mobility to take advantage of the best opportunities available. This perspective regards the labor market as essentially homogeneous with salaries determined by the interaction of supply and demand, with workers paid in accordance with each one's contribution to the firm's production. Verhine (1982) also points out that the orthodox conception of the economy assumes that the labor market tends toward a state of equilibrium and that both employers and employees benefit mutually from their investment and work. Within this set of assumptions, workers' skills and abilities are viewed as a form of capital because they are assumed to affect the workers' productivity and benefit the worker through employment opportunities, wages, and economic security.

Education contributes to the human capital model as a major means to acquire knowledge and skills. Through general and specific training it is assumed that the poor and disenfranchised can gain skills and thereby raise productivity and income. Health, family planning, and related programs are typically adjuncts to human capital approaches because poor health and high birth rates are considered drains on resources and limits to a high quality work force. Likewise, literacy programs are assumed to be a major contributor to raising work force quality. The World Bank is probably the most articulate and outspoken advocate of both the orthodox economic point of view and the human capital approach, especially as they relate to

formal schooling (Habte, Psacharopoulos, & Heyneman, 1980). Harbison (1973) has articulated the link between nonformal education and human capital theory.

The strategies for developing human resources as human capital emphasize individual change rather than structural change and appear to fall into three major categories. These are technical/vocational training, diffusion of information, and community organization and development.

Technical/Vocational Training

Industrial training and skill training are intended either to provide an individual with skills to secure a job or to upgrade an individual's skills on the job. Here, nonformal education often occurs in institutions¹ and must compete with formal schools in the training functions, must deliver usable skills or provide the basis for later training, and must provide legitimate credentials respected in the marketplace.

The principal problems associated with technical/vocational training can be traced to the lack of articulation between the training and work opportunity and/or market. The more isolated the training process is from the point of application of the training, the less effective it is. There are two major reasons for this. First is the time lag. Training programs are complicated to plan, and the start-up time, plus the recruitment and training time, may extend over several years. Thus the risk increases that when individuals complete their training, the opportunities that once existed may no longer exist. Second, to be effective a training program needs to have a close relationship to the job tasks at the actual work site. This means that training programs must have up-to-date equipment as well as knowledgeable and experienced instructors. Often this is not the case.

Although there do not seem to be any new strategies to confront this dilemma of distance between training and work, there are some long-standing regional program models that have attempted to resolve this problem. One of these is SENAI (National Apprenticeship Service of Industrial Training) in Brazil that involves the collaboration of industry and government in the training of the industrial labor force with the educational programs maintained through the financial contributions of industrial employers (Abreu, 1968; Edfelt, 1975; United States Agency for International Development, 1972).

Diffusion of Information

The second type of program strategy is much broader, encompassing more than the world of work and usually occurring outside of institutions. It relies on the transmission of skills and information for adapting the individual and group to the existing society. Program planners must develop successful communication media to diffuse information. They face the difficult task of changing behavior within a community while encountering, but avoiding conflict with, the political and economic structures which reinforce such behaviors. This strategy is derived from the trickle-down and modernization² concepts of the 1950s and 1960s and is based on communications research.

The use of media in nonformal education is often directed primarily to rural audiences, notably small farmers. Relatively little is known about the impact of such agricultural extension efforts. Studies done on the effects of education on farm productivity present mixed results (Lockheed, 1980). Explanations for problems associated with agricultural extension are well known: poor quality of training; separation of the extension agent from the people served; and the structural constraints inherent in markets, land size and tenure, and credit.

A second application of the diffusion of information concept is in improving health status. Here we know even less about program impact. Although there is some evidence that formal schooling is inversely related to such things as mortality (Cochrane, 1980) and positively related to birth control practices (Garcia, 1976) and that nonformal education programs in the health delivery field have an impact on the knowledge of the targeted audience (White, 1977), there is a dearth of literature exploring the impact of such programs on other outcomes, especially behavioral change and health status. As with agricultural extension, the viability of nonformal health programs from the human capital perspective is dependent on the mix of variables embedded in the social structure, from environmental conditions and delivery systems to the participants' habits, attitudes, knowledge, and income.

Literacy efforts constitute another area where the diffusion of information approach is dominant. Literacy programs have been common in most countries of Latin America because literacy rates are utilized as a major indicator of national development and because there still exists a strong assumption, within the human capital approach, that illiteracy is a major obstacle to work force efficiency and productivity (Castro, 1976). Again, little evidence exists to assess the success of these efforts. Instead, it appears that increased school enrollment rates at the younger age levels, combined with normal death rates of the over 40-year age group, account for many of the gains that have been made.

Community Organization

A third type of strategy for developing human resources as human capital is that of organizing community groups. These efforts tend to cluster around two approaches. The first is psychosocial in orientation and is referred to as community action or community development wherein local inhabitants are organized to assess and act on community issues or problems. The second is oriented toward economic goals and usually involves organizing members of the community as a cooperative enterprise to enhance their economic status.

Human capital nonformal education for group action has received attention throughout this century in Latin America and the Caribbean. It was manifested in the late 1940s as UNESCO's fundamental education efforts, in the late 1950s and 1960s as a worldwide emphasis on community development, and in the 1970s as a more social structural approach called integrated development.

Whatever the derivation, there exists considerable variation among the assumptions underlying human capital community action efforts. However, the common emphasis is on the individual within the group—his or her perceptions, personality, and behavior. The innovation process itself is typically conceptualized as a mental process, and the acceptance of an innovation by one or more members of a community is supposedly dependent on how it is perceived by potential adopters. The critique of traditional community development activity centers on the reduced concern for material goals and the emphasis on changing the content of an individual's psyche. This emphasis is frequently justified in two ways. First, it is argued that a sense of personal identity and self-esteem is a valuable end in itself. Second, traditional community development advocates contend that changes will not last unless they are made an integral part of the individual's mental state.

Niehoff (1966) helps put this traditional community action strategy into perspective by conceptualizing the planned change process as part of an equilibrium paradigm involving two interacting forces: the action of the change agent and the reaction of the community that is expected to adopt the new ideas. Niehoff's schema assumes that individuals and groups operate primarily in accordance with their own desires as opposed to behaving primarily in response to existing social structural constraints generated by dominant groups.

Beginning in the early 1970s, there was movement away from such psychological models toward using the group rather than individuals as a means to confront social structural conditions. These confrontations remain uncommon, despite the relatively long period of time that the effectiveness of community development, as an individual psychological process, has been shown to be limited. Such limitations involve, for example, a dependence on outside change agents to act as conduits and brokers between the community and outside institutions; a frequent dependence by the change agent on the community for his or her own social and psychological needs (Hussein & Taylor, 1953); an isolation of most programs from parallel activities like land reform, regional economic planning, and market conditions (Adams, 1964; Pascoe, 1966); a lack of attention to the impact of community action efforts on tangible goals that raise production levels and living standards (Erasmus, 1961); and a lack of uniformity among such programs in concept, content, scope, and aims (United Nations, 1964).

These conclusions resulted in a push for integrated development. Integrated development efforts consolidated the assumptions of the functionalist, equilibrium paradigm. Attempts were made to analyze and act on community problems as complex, multivariate issues demanding multiple interventions in the various components of society (e.g., ideology, social organization, technology).

It is still common to find many programs in Latin America and the Caribbean that reflect this more integrated approach of altering not only an individual's behavior, but also some of the social structural constraints that restrict that behavior. However, there is now less talk about integrated development in the region, probably because of the difficulties experienced

in implementing such programs. A truly multiple-intervention strategy often exceeds the capability of a single agency. At the same time, attempting to secure the simultaneous participation of several social action agencies works against the tradition of agency independence and autonomy.

A second major reason for alleging that integrated development has foundered concerns the administrative and logistical problems encountered when attempting to put equilibrium change theory into practice. The delivery of goods and services on time, for example, requires of the community both good administrative skills and a sound understanding of the change process. Similarly, because community social action programs are premised on the assumption of maintaining the present socio-economic order that is associated with the human capital model (La Belle, 1976), they are frequently dependent on the existence of supportive political and economic structures rather than on the activities that the community generates. Consequently, communities seem to have difficulty sustaining community organizations and community institutions such as schools and health centers once a community action agency and change agent have withdrawn.

Implementing Community Action

The core of community action programs is the change agent, facilitator, or community development worker whose task is to assist or direct community groups as they organize themselves, make themselves aware of their problems, discern their potential for solving those problems, gather resources, and then implement systematic programs. Agents are usually trained through nonformal educational programs either to act as indigenous leaders of the community or to act as intermediaries between the agency and the community to implement the program's activities. Thus one problem for change agents and for the communities in which they work is the tendency to become overly dependent on each other. Sometimes the community depends too much on the change agent to act as a broker or intermediary with outside institutions such as government offices, foundations, and banks, while the change agent grows to depend on the community for emotional, psychological, and, in some cases, financial support.

The nature of an agent's involvement in the community varies in accordance with the program's goals and may not always create dependency problems. Beyond program goals, the effectiveness of the change agent is dependent on the nature of the community and the change agent's personality. Thus the goals and activities are often dependent on the actors involved and tend to reflect the specific interests of either the change agent or the segment of the community to which he or she is most attached. Such characteristics of community action efforts serve to limit the extent to which conceptual boundaries can be drawn around programs of community action and the related role of the change agent. This, in turn, has often prevented scholars from going beyond case studies in building an information base to guide practitioners. The result is that change agents have few

reference points because the conceptual basis for community action is so open-ended.

There are several case studies dealing with the implementation of community action (Ceara, 1983; Hurtado, 1983; Mauna & Rivera, 1978). However, the particularistic nature of program implementation in specific communities does not give rise to findings that are generalizable. One major reason for this lack of transfer arises from the tendency to rely on the history of past interventions in the particular community as a base for designing additional interventions. As a result, activities derive less from what is known (research) about successful interventions than from past experience, personal program preferences, and common sense.

Within the human capital model, community groups that are organized for economic ends often engage in more pragmatic activities aimed at broadening social participation and transforming capitalist macroeconomic systems into cooperative and communal movements (Dandler, 1976; Nash & Hopkins, 1976). Although cooperatives are the most common form of economic institutions at the community level in Latin America, in recent years other community-based enterprises such as worker-owned and managed stores have emerged. Yet they are still much less visible than cooperatives. The classic cooperative is one owned and controlled by its voluntary members, with each member usually having one vote, receiving the services of the cooperative at cost, and sharing the surplus earnings. In reality, cooperatives based on the human capital model seldom arise from popular movements. Instead, they are often legislated into existence and are used to satisfy bureaucratic requirements by enabling participants to receive technical assistance, land, or credit. They may also help to politically pacify peasants by associating cooperatives with the promise of a better life. Additionally, cooperatives are used by social service agencies as vehicles for the diffusion of information and technology.

Case study evidence of the experience of cooperatives in the region offers a mixed assessment of their performance. For example, Fals Borda, Apthorpe, and Inayatullah (1976), in their comparative study of rural cooperatives in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, found that cooperatives seldom achieve the goals set for them by social and economic planners, especially when such goals involve structural change.

Conclusions

The picture that emerges from this review of the human capital approach to development is one of individual behavior change among the poor through technical/vocational training, agricultural extension, health programs, and literacy efforts, that is relatively impotent in the face of social structural constraints. The outcomes for poor adults are not significant, especially when the goals go beyond transmitting information and skills and are measured in terms of material gains such as job acquisition, agricultural production, income, and health status.

Common sense and observation suggest that many individuals, particularly from the poorer strata, receive their information from community institutions developed by cultural practices and traditions (i.e., church-re-

lated channels, community folklore), as well as from commercial establishments, rather than from specialized education programs. Traditional channels of information that exist in the community may be more powerful sources of educational information than those which human capital nonformal educators create. If community channels are powerful resources for education in the community, they have yet to be studied or used effectively as part of the human capital approach.

The unintended effects of nonformal education programs dare not be overlooked. It is likely that the lack of employment opportunities in the region, combined with a traditional emphasis on technical/vocational training in schools and nonformal institutions, may promote employment in the informal labor market. Therefore, the unintended effect of nonformal education programs may be to foster an area of the economy (i.e., "underground" economic exchange and informal economics) from which the government fails to secure revenue. But above all, informal sectors of the economy are at a disadvantage as they must compete with businesses in the formal sector that are legitimate and that contribute through taxes to the well-being of the state.

Human capital planners and practitioners may be utilizing the wrong institutions and eliciting the wrong outcomes because of the nature of the human capital assumptions about the importance of particular types of educational preparations and the appropriate means for social change. Furthermore, although some form of community organization is necessary for socioeconomic change to occur, it is apparent that community development programs, community enterprises, and cooperatives are characterized by both internal and external problems that limit their effectiveness. They are often overly dependent on entrenched local elites and on assistance offered by external agencies subject to political conditions over which they have no control, and they lack a sufficient power base to be economically competitive with large commercial establishments. Also, such organizations lack the leadership that can relate to the wider socioeconomic environment in terms of the knowledge and skills that characterize that environment.

Empowering the poor beyond the prospects of individual mobility within capitalist states would seem to require a different form of community organization which would challenge the vested interests of the entrenched elite. Psychological-oriented or integrated development approaches may not be viable strategies for change, nor are they sufficient in their attempts to create a federation of local cooperatives or economic units. Whatever the new organizational form, relatively rapid social transformation for large segments of the poor through human capital approaches seems unlikely within the existing constraints of capitalism. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is that there will be some long-term cumulative impact that will encourage more effective strategies for social change.

Notes

1. I define nonformal education as "any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children."

2. Modernization theory has been the dominant paradigm in the sociology of national development in the 1950s and 1960s. For a discussion see La Belle, 1986; Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Chilcote, 1981.
3. My thanks to Christopher R. Ward, doctoral student in the School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, for assistance with this article.

References

- Abreu, J. (1968). Craft and industrial training in Brazil: A socio-historical study. In J.A. Lauwerys & D.G. Scanlon (Eds.), *World yearbook of education 1968: Education within industry* (pp. 210-225). London: Evans Brothers.
- Adams, R.N. (1964). The Latin American community in revolution and development. In J.P. Augelli (Ed.), *The community in revolutionary Latin America* (pp. 5-10). Lawrence: University of Kansas, Center for Latin American Studies.
- Bowles, S. (1980). Education, class conflict and uneven development. In J. Simmons (Ed.), *The education dilemma* (pp. 205-231). New York: Pergamon.
- Carnoy, M. (1980). Can education alone solve the problem of unemployment. In J. Simmons (Ed.), *The education dilemma* (pp. 153-164). New York: Pergamon.
- Castro, C. de M. (1976). Alfabetización funcional y desarrollo económico—programa ECIEL. *Educación hoy: Perspectivas Latinoamericanas*, 6(35), 26-40.
- Ceara. (1983). Secretaria de Educação e Instituto Interamericano de Cooperação para a Agricultura (IICA). *Educação rural integrada: A experiencia de pesquisa e planejamento participativo no Ceara*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Pax Terra.
- Chilcote, R.H. (1981). *Theories of comparative politics: The search for a paradigm*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Cochrane, S.H. (1980). *The effects of education on health*. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 405. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Dandler, J. (1976). Peasant sindicatos and the process of cooptation in Bolivian politics. In J. Nash, J. Dandler, & N. Hopkins (Eds.), *Popular participation in social change: Cooperatives, collectives and nationalized industry* (pp. 341-352). The Hague: Mouton.
- Edfelt, R. (1975). Occupational education and training: The role of large private industry in Brazil. In T.J. La Belle (Ed.), *Educational alternatives in Latin America: Social change and social stratification* (pp. 384-413). Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center.
- Erasmus, C.J. (1961). *Man takes control*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fals Borda, O., Apthorpe, R., & Inayatullah, M. (1976). The crisis of rural cooperatives: Problems in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In J. Nash, J. Dandler, & N. Hopkins (Eds.), *Popular participation in social change: Cooperatives, collectives and nationalized industry* (pp. 439-456). The Hague: Mouton.
- Figuerola Unda, M., Gallardo, I., & Lafarga, J. (1979). Datos básicos y directivas para la elaboración de un programa de investigación educativa. In D. Morales-Gomez (Ed.), *La educación y desarrollo dependiente en América Latina* (pp. 49-84). Mexico City: Ediciones Gernika.
- Garcia, B. (1976). Anticoncepción en México rural. *Demografía y Economía*, 10(3), 297-351.
- Gordon, D.M. (1972). *Theories of poverty and unemployment*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.
- Habte, W.D., Psacharopoulos, G., & Heyneman, S.P. (1980). *Education: Sector policy paper*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Harbison, F. (1973). *Human resources as the wealth of nations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hurtado, L. (1983). Investigación para la innovación en educación no formal. *Investigaciones educativas Venezolanas, Boletín Informativo* 3(2).
- Hussein, A., & Taylor, C.C. (1953). Report of the mission on rural community organization and development in the Caribbean area and Mexico. *Series on Community Organization and Development*, 4(9). New York: United Nations.
- Ibarrola, M., & Reynaga, S. (1983). Estructura de producción, mercado de trabajo y escolaridad en México. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos*, 13(3), 11-81.
- Inkeles, A., & Smith, D.H. (1974). *Becoming modern: Individual change in six developing countries*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kotter, H.P. (1974). Some observations on the basic principles and general strategy underlying integrated rural development. *Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics*, 23(4), 1-12.

- La Belle, T.J. (1976). *Nonformal education and social change in Latin America*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center.
- La Belle, T.J. (1986). *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, reform or revolution?* New York: Praeger.
- Lockheed, M. (1980). *Farmer education and farm efficiency: A survey*. EDCC.
- Mauna, N., & Rivera, E. (1978). Educación de adultos campesinos: Una experiencia de comunicación social desarrollada en el distrito de riego no. 85 'La Begona,' Municipio de Celaya, Guanajuato, por el Centro Nacional de Productividad de México, A.C. *Revista inter-americana de educación de adultos* (pp. 776-802). Santiago: OEA.
- Nash, J., & Hopkins, N.S. (1976). Anthropological approaches to the study of cooperatives, collectives and self-management. In J. Nash, J. Dandler, & N. Hopkins (Eds.), *Popular participation in social change: Cooperatives, collectives, and nationalized industry*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Niehoff, A.H. (Ed.) (1966). *A casebook of social change*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Pascoe, S.J. (1966). Community development trends in the region. In E. de Vries (Ed.), *Social research and rural life in Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean Region* (pp. 151-165). Paris: UNESCO.
- Rebeil, M.A. (1979). Educación no formal en áreas rurales Mexicanas. In D. Morales-Gómez (Ed.), *La educación y desarrollo dependiente en America Latina* (pp. 233-256). Mexico City: Ediciones Gernika.
- Torres, C.A. (1983). Adult education policy, capitalist development and class alliance: Latin America and Mexico. *International Journal of Political Education*, 6, 157-173.
- Tovar Gómez, M. (1980). Educación de adultos y desarrollo integral. *Educación No Formal Para Adultos: Algunos Temas* 3(6), 1-13.
- United Nations, Economic Commission on Latin America. (1964). Popular participation and principles of community development in relation to the acceleration of economic and social development. *Economic Bulletin for Latin America* 9(2), 225-255.
- United States Agency for International Development. (1972). *Brazil: Education sector analysis*. Rio de Janeiro: United Nations Agency for International Development, Human Resources Office.
- Verhine, R. (1982). Educação e mercado de trabalho: Perspectivas alternativas e suas implicações para o problema de pobreza. *População, Educação, Emprego*, 2, 85-132. Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia.
- White, R.A. (1977). Mass communication and the popular promotion strategy of rural development in Honduras. In P.L. Spain, D.T. Jamison, & E.G. McAnany (Eds.), *Radio for education and development: Case studies*, Vol. 1. Washington, DC: World Bank.

ROBERT F. ARNOVE

Indiana University

and

HARVEY J. GRAFF

University of Texas

What Have National Literacy Campaigns Taught Us?

Literacy campaigns are considered in historical and comparative perspective and some lessons are drawn. The importance of both national will and local initiative are stressed, particularly in regard to overcoming opposition and reaching neglected populations. According to the authors, the meaning and uses of literacy are contextually determined, and as social contexts change so do definitions of what constitute adequate literacy skills. The authors conclude with some observations about future policies and practices in industrialized countries such as Canada.

Recently, the existence of substantial pockets of illiteracy in industrialized countries has attracted public attention. Limage (1986), in a review of illiteracy in the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, points out that most developed nations are beginning to recognize that there are still millions of people in their populations who are completely illiterate or semi-illiterate in spite of long-standing formal education systems through which virtually all adults have passed (p. 50). Estimates for the United States, for example, have ranged over the past eight years from a low of less than 1% to over 33%, depending on what definitions and measures of literacy have been used (Kozol, 1986, p. 27). The State of California estimates that perhaps as many as four to seven million of its residents are at various stages of illiteracy or semiliteracy. In the face of these dramatic statistics, there have been calls for literacy campaigns that transcend the limitations of traditional, uncoordinated, local, and largely private sector literacy training. Kozol (1985), in his polemical *Illiterate America*, is one of the most articulate advocates of a mass mobilization on behalf of literacy instruction that would resemble in urgency and scope those campaigns in Cuba in 1961 and Nicaragua in 1980.

Similar alarms have been sounded in Canada. *Literacy in Canada: A Research Report* (1987) has argued that perhaps as much as one fourth of the Canadian adult population is, in one way or another, illiterate. Four years earlier, an occasional paper for the Canadian Commission for

Dr. Arnové is a professor of comparative education in the School of Education, and Dr. Graff is a professor in the School of Arts and Humanities. They are the co-editors of *National Literacy Campaigns: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (1987).

UNESCO documented the existence of large numbers of undereducated Canadians whose low levels of literacy might place serious limitations on their participating fully in the rights, responsibilities and privileges of citizenship (Thomas, 1983). This paper, *Adult Illiteracy in Canada—A Challenge*, also examines developments in adult education in Great Britain, Australia, and the United States, and the history of literacy activities in Canada, to discern what might be reasonable approaches to the provision of effective adult education. Along similar lines, we wish to offer some lessons culled from our examination of efforts at literacy provision in more than a dozen societies over the past 400 years.¹ Among these lessons are (a) that literacy efforts need to last long enough to be effective; (b) that local initiative should be mobilized in conjunction with national will; (c) that there will be a significant minority who will oppose or not be reached by literacy efforts of centralized authorities; (d) that eventually emphasis will have to be placed on schooling for youth (in order to head off future illiteracy); and (e) that literacy must be seen or understood in its various contexts.

Literacy Campaigns

In a UNESCO-commissioned review of 20th century national literacy campaigns, Bhola (1982) defines a literacy campaign as “a mass approach that seems to make all adult men and women in a nation literate within a particular time frame” (p. 211). He notes that “a campaign suggests urgency and combativeness; it is in the nature of an expectation, it is something of a crusade” (p. 211). Sometimes large-scale attainment of literacy becomes the moral equivalent of war. By contrast, a “literacy program ... even though planned, systematic and designed-by-objectives may lack both urgency and passionate fervor” (p. 211).

Although a limited time frame is considered to be a defining characteristic of a mass campaign, those national cases frequently pointed to as exemplars of 20th century literacy mobilizations commonly took two or more decades. Bhola's examples include the USSR (1919-1939), Vietnam (1945-1977), the People's Republic of China (1950s-1980s), Burma (1960s-1980s), Brazil (1967-1980), and Tanzania (1971-1981). Only the Cuban literacy campaign spanned a period of one year. The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade of 1980, not studied by Bhola, lasted only five months, but immediately following the 1980 *Cruzada*, the Nicaraguan government instituted a campaign in indigenous languages for non-Spanish-speaking populations of the Atlantic Coast Region, and it established, in the same vein as Cuba, a program of continuing basic (popular) education. Some seven years after the 1980-81 mobilizations, there are renewed calls for a campaign to reach those adults who have lapsed into illiteracy because of the war situation.

As literacy campaigns are usually initiated during periods of upheaval, revolutionary transformation, and civil strife, the difficulty of achieving and sustaining lofty educational goals—which frequently characterize new political regimes—is not surprising. The Soviet Union, for example, stands out as the first case of a country adopting a war-siege mentality to combat illiteracy. The December 29, 1919 Decree on Illiteracy required all illiterates eight to 50 years of age to study, empowered local Narkompros (People's

Commissariats of Enlightenment) to draft citizens to teach, and made it a criminal offense to refuse to teach or study (Kenez, 1982, pp. 180-181). Five years after the passing of comprehensive legislation, the establishment of a national literacy agency and of "liquidation points," Minister of Education Anatoly Lunacharsky complained that "the society for the liquidation of illiteracy passes wonderful resolutions, but the concrete results of its work are despicable" (Pethybridge, 1974, p. 152). N.K. Krupskaya, Lenin's wife and a renowned educator, complained 10 years after the passage of the 1919 literacy decree that not a single article had been implemented (Eklof, 1987, p. 131).

National Will and Local Initiative

While it may take 10 years or more for a campaign to take hold, nationally orchestrated literacy programs are usually preceded by grassroots initiatives. Moreover, the fanfare heralding tremendous achievements brought about by new political regimes generally obscures local educational efforts and accomplishments on which national policy makers build (Eklof, 1987; Hayford, 1987; Rawski, 1979).

Perhaps the most striking example of the successful attainment of high literacy levels through decentralized efforts is that of 19th century America. Unlike the German, Swedish, and Scottish campaigns of the 17th and 18th centuries, there was no centrally determined policy that brought the power and resources of the nation-state to bear on the problem of literacy. Instead, the competition of religious denominations, the proliferation of religious and secular presses, the exhortation of leading secular and clerical authorities, and local civic initiative came together to promote literacy activities (Stevens, 1987, pp. 99-122). Most activity was organized and directed by the individual states rather than by the federal government. The United States experience seems particularly relevant to Canada, where education is a provincial responsibility.

In the 20th century, the most striking examples of mobilization involve national, centrally organized efforts that are waged in terms of a "war on ignorance." But these efforts also have depended heavily on local initiative and popular organizations to recruit teachers and to implement instructional activities. The People's Republic of China, with the most massive mobilization of people (over 137 million), was, according to Bhola, centrally instituted and nationally orchestrated but carried out in a decentralized manner, leaving much to local choice and initiative (Bhola, 1982, pp. 85-90). China illustrates in extreme form the importance of national political will to achieve wide-scale literacy in a poor country (Bhola, 1982, p. 98). Other prominent examples include Cuba, Tanzania, and Nicaragua. By contrast, advanced industrialized countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, and France represent societies that have not committed the resources and efforts necessary to resolve substantial literacy problems (Limage, 1986). Similarly, Thomas (1983, p. 89) has pointed out that national commitment and popular participation (two principles identified by the International Council for Adult Education as critical to the attainment

and retention of literacy) have been lacking at the national level in Canada. However, as she notes, "there is a strong commitment from numerous individuals across the country at the micro-levels" (Thomas, 1983, p. 89). The significance of these local efforts should not be downplayed or overlooked.

The success of large-scale mobilizations, particularly in socialist countries, is often the function of mass organizations such as youth, worker, neighborhood, defense, and women's associations. A national campaign, by mobilizing large numbers of people and strengthening mass organizations, creates opportunities for large-scale citizenship participation in decision making. But such mobilizations and organizations may also serve as instruments for exercising cultural and political hegemony by dominant groups or state apparatuses.

Resistance

History offers countless examples of people, individually and collectively, resisting such attempts. The German literacy drives elicited such responses from peasants as early as the 16th century. Russia offers abundant instances before and after the 1917 revolution of peasant populations setting up their own schools and employing reading materials that did not accord with the designs of state authorities. Eklof (1987) chronicles peasant attacks on state appointed teachers in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He also describes how, despite intense efforts at censorship, readers pursued their own interests, frequently of an escapist nature: "Library subscribers took out books on politics in far smaller number than their availability. Books checked out were concentrated in the areas of travel, biography, and history (primarily on World War II, military memoirs, spy documentaries, regimental histories)" (p. 124).

Similar accounts of reading habits from Tanzania and China indicate that peasants and workers may be less interested in reading about how to construct a latrine or organize a cooperative than they are in romance and adventure stories. Gillette (1987), who participated in the evaluation of the UNESCO-sponsored 11-country Experimental World Literacy Program (1967-73), sums up the difficulty of controlling outcomes of literacy campaigns:

Happily, literacy like education more generally cannot be reduced to behavioral conditioning. It endows people with skills that they can (although do not always) use to receive and emit messages of an almost infinite range, a range that in any event escapes the control of those who imparted literacy.... Literacy is potential empowerment. (p. 215)

Neglected Populations

In addition to the resistance of people to control, there are other seemingly intractable problems. Class, ethnic, racial, geographical, and gender differences in literacy acquisition have been ubiquitous over the past 400 years. Historically and comparatively, rural populations, the working class, ethnic and racial minorities, and women have been the last to receive literacy instruction and to gain access to advanced levels of schooling. As

various UNESCO publications reiterate, the world map of illiteracy is the map of poverty.

Women have been the most disadvantaged group. From the time of the Protestant Reformation, when household heads were held responsible by the state for literacy instruction and for supervising reading, men typically have benefited most from education campaigns. Moreover, when reading was extended to women, men received preference in the teaching of writing. However, in early modern Sweden and the 19th century United States, perceptions of women's special education "mission" at home, as mothers, and as schoolteachers propelled their rates of literacy upward, sometimes rivaling those of men. Recently, the Cuban and Nicaraguan campaigns have revealed a new potential for breaking this pattern. In both countries, a majority of the literacy workers were women. However, the results from other campaigns such as that in Tanzania indicate that women predominate at the lower levels of literacy attainment; at the highest levels, corresponding to functional literacy, males predominate (Kassam & Hall, 1985; Unsicker, 1987).

Despite the intensity and scale of efforts, and whether by intent or not, an unmistakable pattern emerges from an historical analysis of campaigns from cases as diverse as preindustrial Germany, the Soviet Union (1919-1939), Tanzania (1970-1983), and Nicaragua (1980-1986). Regardless of date, duration, or developmental level, approximately 85% adult literacy is achieved. The exception is Cuba, which claims that its 1961 campaign reduced the rate of illiteracy from 24% to 4% (Leiner, 1987). Nevertheless, an irreducible minimum remains of at least 10% to 20%. This finding places in question notions that, except for a small minority of severely handicapped and institutionalized populations, it is possible to achieve literacy rates of over 95% in advanced industrialized societies.

This historical pattern poses major challenges for future study. Among the questions that need to be researched are: who comprises this group of unreachable people; what factors and conditions are associated with non-literacy attainment (e.g., institutional discrimination; inappropriate language, methods, and materials of instruction; opposition to the legitimacy or ideological thrust of a political regime); and how are illiterate people treated by the increasingly literate population?

The Canadian UNESCO report on illiteracy in Canada pointed out that special consideration needs to be given to indigenous populations (Indians and Inuit) and immigrant populations for whom English or French are not first languages (Thomas, 1983, p. 13). In addition, the geographical isolation, as well as economic disadvantages, of indigenous groups tends to compound the difficulty of adequate provision of education. Moreover, although many of the recently arrived immigrants are better educated than preceding "new Canadians," there is still reason to be concerned with ESL (English as a Second Language) literacy in large reception centers (Thomas, 1983, p. 101).

As learning to read, possibly to write, involves the acquisition or conferral of a new status—membership in a religious community, citizenship in a

nation-state—literacy often carries tremendous symbolic weight, quite apart from any power and new capabilities it may bring. The attainment of literacy operates as a badge, a sign of initiation into a select group and/or a larger community. The opposite side of the coin is that those who do not participate in a campaign or who continue to be illiterate may be labeled as deviant and denied full membership rights in a more comprehensive community. Historically, as well as more recently, those who oppose literacy efforts may be viewed as dissident, unassimilated, counterrevolutionary, or enemies of the state.

Schooling as the Vehicle for Attacking Illiteracy

The intractability of adults who do not wish to learn in ways prescribed by state authorities or to be converted to a different set of beliefs is a common occurrence. An important legacy of the German Reformation campaigns is Luther's shift in attention to shaping the young, as opposed to his earlier focus on all members of the community (Strauss, 1978; Gawthrop, 1987, pp. 31-35). The dilemma faced by Luther, whether to concentrate literacy efforts on the young (who may be less "corrupted" and more malleable) or on adults, is a strategic issue in almost all subsequent mass campaigns. In 20th-century campaigns, despite initial large-scale efforts aimed at entire populations, a narrowing eventually occurs with greater emphasis placed on the formal education of the young.

It is not surprising that literacy provision and socialization of individuals over time have merged and been institutionalized in state systems of formal education. From the earliest campaigns, the goals of literacy provision have been the propagation of a particular faith or world view and the reading of prescribed texts under the supervision of teachers of certain moral persuasion and of an upright character. Historically, the religious orientation of school systems has given way to a more secular faith in the nation-state and/or the propagation of an ideology such as capitalism or socialism. State organized and regulated systems of schooling represent for political elites an efficient means of achieving these goals. While bureaucratic systems of education (with the attendant centralization of decision making, standardization of routines, and uniformity of curriculum) may bring certain benefits, such systems also lead to alienation and academic failure—perhaps illiteracy—of substantial numbers of individuals who do not fit into such structures.

Definition and Reappraisal

Literacy takes on meaning in particular historical and social formations. The status of literate persons and the multiple competencies that are required to interpret texts and communicate with others must be viewed in relation to the demands of specific settings. In industrialized societies, a variety of adjectives are now attached to definitions and notions of literacy; one commonly hears references, for example, to computer and scientific literacy, and even "cultural" literacy (Hirsch, 1987). As it is generally considered that more sophisticated reading and writing skills are required in more complex technological environments, and as comprehension of various

print materials includes background knowledge of both national and international contexts, there will be calls for renewed efforts to reach and impart literacy-related skills of a higher order. For these reasons, various federal task forces and the Canadian Commission for UNESCO have expressed concern about the literacy skills of individuals with less than nine years of schooling and especially those with less than five years of formal education.

On the other hand, a radical political economy critique of industrialized societies is likely to point out that a process of deskilling has been going on in the work force of countries like the United States (Apple, 1986; Bowles, Gordon, & Weisskopf, 1983; Braverman, 1976). If the fastest growing sectors of the economy are not in high technology areas involving robotics and computerization but in the service sector and in particular areas like fast food restaurants and security agencies, then there are unlikely to be sufficient economic incentives and rewards for individuals to develop higher order communication and computation skills. A radical critique also would point out that the Canadian economy itself is constrained by its dependence on the United States economy.

Concluding Reflections and Questions

Ultimately, contextual factors—the opportunities for using literacy skills, the transformations that occur in social structures, the ideology of national leaders—determine whether individuals acquire, retain, and use literacy skills. Whether literacy and post-literacy campaigns use materials and methods that are truly designed to equip people to play more active roles in shaping the direction of their societies, or instead use materials and methods aimed at inducting people into predetermined roles is a telling indication of the ideology and intent of these campaigns.

Once we assume that the necessary contextual factors obtain, we move on to other considerations. One set of questions concerns whether political and educational policy makers in Canada are willing to dedicate sufficient resources and time to the endeavor, while encouraging local initiative and input. Another set concerns the extent to which policy makers will take into account the reasons for resistance to such national efforts and find the means to reach populations previously ignored or discriminated against with materials and methods that serve the interests of these groups.

Although there has been a significant increase in Canadian literacy efforts since 1976 on the part of the federal, provincial, and local governments, the mass media, and various nongovernmental agencies, the overall effort may be considered fragmented, and public awareness and support may be lacking or inadequate to the challenge (Thomas, 1983, p. 89). Quebec is perhaps unique among the provinces in having recognized at the end of the 1970s the full extent of its illiteracy problem and having called for a “campaign.” The Jean Commission (Thomas, 1983) noted that

The literacy campaign claims to be a special approach allowing adults to take charge of and control their own training process. To accomplish this, the campaign must get down to the grass-roots level and make use of organizations which have close ties with the adults concerned. (p. 84)

Whether Quebec's call for a literacy campaign had "a spearheading effect on the rest of Canada," (as Thomas hoped it might) remains to be seen (Hauteceur, 1978, 1979; Thomas, 1983, p. 84). What is more certain is that a mass approach will have to involve substantial federal attention as well as greater cooperation, if not coordination, of the various agencies and individuals involved in literacy instruction and adult basic education.

From current and past literacy campaigns, literacy planners and political leaders have learned a number of lessons about the factors that contribute to the success of a campaign or cause it to fall short of its goal. The extent to which international and national authorities have grasped the implications of these lessons and are committed to applying them remains in question. The lack of resolve of political and educational leaders in many nations may be attributed to the fact that widespread literacy within a populace can have uncontrollable, contradictory, and conflicting consequences (Graff, 1979; Levin, 1981). Reluctance on the part of policy makers is especially understandable in light of the rhetoric and ideology of recent national campaigns which have stressed literacy for "critical consciousness," "liberation," and "empowerment."

As noted in the Canadian Commission to UNESCO report (Thomas, 1983), literacy is fundamentally a political issue involving these questions:

What sort of society do we want? Are we seriously interested in improving the skills and training of the poorly educated? Will we make this a priority, and commit funds and expertise in an age of dwindling resources? Are we willing to allow one-quarter of the adult population of Canada to remain under-educated? (p. 9).

The report goes on to observe that these questions lead to others which "starkly clarify the values we put on people and their ability to realize their full potential" (p. 9).

Note

1. The chapters in our edited collection, *National Literacy Campaigns: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (1987), examine Reformation Germany, early modern Sweden and Scotland, 19th-century United States, 19th and early 20th-century Russia and the Soviet Union, pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary China, and a variety of Third World countries in the post-World War II period (Tanzania, Cuba, Nicaragua, and India). There also is a chapter on the UNESCO-sponsored Experimental World Literacy Program and the piece by Limage on recent adult literacy efforts in the United Kingdom, France, and the United States.

References

- Apple, M. (1986). *Teachers and texts: A political economy of class and gender relations in education*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bhola, H.S. (1982). *Campaigning for literacy: A critical analysis of some selected literacy campaigns of the 20th century, with a memorandum to decision makers*. Paris: UNESCO/International Council for Adult Education.
- Bowles, S., Gordon, D.M., & Weisskopf, T.E. (1983). *Beyond the wasteland*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Braverman, H. (1976). *Labor and monopoly capital*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Eklöf, B. (1987). Russian literacy campaigns. In R.F. Arnove & H.J. Graff (Eds.), *National literacy campaigns: Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 121-131). New York: Plenum.

- Gawthrop, R. (1987). Literacy drives in preindustrial Germany. In R.F. Arnove & H.J. Graff (Eds.), *National literacy campaigns: Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 29-48). New York: Plenum.
- Gillette, A. (1987). The experimental world literacy program: A unique international effort revisited. In R.F. Arnove & H.J. Graff (Eds.), *National literacy campaigns: Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 197-217). New York: Plenum.
- Graff, H.J. (1979). *The literacy myth: Literacy and social structure literacy campaigns in the nineteenth-century city*. New York: Academic Press.
- Hauteœur, J.-P. (1978). *Analphabétisme et alphabétisation au Québec*. Québec: Ministère de l'éducation.
- Hauteœur, J.-P. (1979). *Pour le développement de l'alphabétisation au Québec*. Québec: Ministère de l'éducation.
- Hayford, C.W. (1987). Literacy Movements in Modern China. In R.F. Arnove & H.J. Graff (Eds.), *National literacy campaigns: Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 99-122). New York: Plenum.
- Hirsch, E.D., Jr. (1987). *Cultural literacy*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Kassam, Y., & Hall B. (1985). *Tanzania's national literacy campaign: A journey of imagination, energy, and commitment*. Unpublished paper, International Council for Adult Education, Toronto.
- Kenez, P. (1982). Liquidating illiteracy in revolutionary Russia. *Russian History*, 9, 180-181.
- Kozol, J. (1985). *Illiterate America*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Kozol, J. (1986, October 30). Illiteracy statistics: A numbers game. *New York Times*, p. 27.
- Leiner, M. (1987). The 1961 national Cuban campaign. In R.F. Arnove & H.J. Graff (Eds.), *National literacy campaigns: Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 173-196). New York: Plenum.
- Levin, H. (1981, February). The identity crisis of educational planning. *Harvard Educational Review*, 51, 85-93.
- Limage, L. (1986, February). Adult literacy policy in industrialized countries. *Comparative Education Review*, 30, 50.
- Literacy in Canada: A research report*. (1987). Ottawa: Southam Communications.
- Pethybridge, R. (1974). *The social prelude to Stalinism*. London: Macmillan.
- Rawski, E.S. (1979). *Education and popular literacy in Ch'ing China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Stevens, E. (1987). The anatomy of mass literacy in nineteenth-century United States. In R.F. Arnove & H.J. Graff (Eds.), *National literacy campaigns: Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 99-122). New York: Plenum.
- Strauss, G. (1978). *Luther's house of learning: Indoctrination of the young in the German reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Thomas, A. (1983). *Adult illiteracy in Canada—A challenge* (Occasional Paper No. 42). Ottawa: Canadian Commission for UNESCO.
- Unsicker, J. (1987). Tanzania's literacy campaign in historical-structural perspective. In R.F. Arnove & H.J. Graff (Eds.), *National literacy campaigns: Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 173-196). New York: Plenum.

WILLIAM T. FAGAN

University of Alberta.

Literacy in Canada: A Critique of the Southam Report

Literacy in Canada: A Research Report (1987), a study by Southam News, indicates that the rate of adult illiteracy in Canada is a conservative 24%. A companion document, Broken Words (Calamai, 1988), contains a series of articles which sensationalize the impact on Canadians of this illiteracy problem. The author argues that intelligent use of the data in these documents requires an understanding of the manner in which (il)literacy was measured and of the problems involved in their interpretation. Some implications arising from the uncritical acceptance of these data are cited.

A major study on adult literacy in Canada by Southam News, at a cost of \$295,000, was released in 1987 and indicated that the illiteracy rate was 24%—higher than in many other countries including Third World countries. Three documents and one set of tapes emanated from this study and can be purchased for a total of \$602.00. The two most widely distributed documents are *Literacy in Canada: A Research Report* and *Broken Words* (Calamai, 1988). The purpose of the research report is to make accessible to the public selected research findings. *Broken Words* consists of articles that previously appeared in newspapers; its purpose appears to be an attempt to reach the general public in terms of more personal and sometimes sensational language regarding the state of adult literacy in Canada. Because of their impact on public awareness of adult literacy in Canada, it seems timely to offer a critique of them.

Measuring Literacy

The authors of the *Literacy in Canada* report state that “policy makers have to determine on a very practical level the degree of literacy required by its members to function” (p. 5). In order to determine an appropriate *degree of literacy*, the authors of the study borrowed test items from a United States study (The National Assessment of Educational Progress for Adults [NAEP], Kirsch & Jungeblut, 1986).

Fifty items were chosen from three of the NAEP scales—prose, document, and quantitative. No criteria are given as to why 50 were chosen, why *these* 50 were chosen, why unequal numbers were chosen from different scales (32 were chosen from the document scale versus 9 from the other two), or what proportion of the items from each scale was chosen. One of the reasons offered for using items from the NAEP scales was “the availability of grade-level equivalents, established for the NAEP reading

Dr. Fagan is a professor of education and director of the Reading and Language Center.

proficiency scales" (p. 8),¹ but no grade equivalents are provided in the *Literacy in Canada* report. A section of the Canadian Charter of Rights with two questions was appended to the borrowed items but once again without a rationale. The results of this item are given minimal attention in the report. Two test versions were constructed, each containing a common base of seven items from the reading proficiency scales of the NAEP study administered to an in-school sample. The criterion given for selecting these items was that "none were chosen to be particularly difficult." The validity of that judgment is not addressed. The authors say that the items were distributed across the two versions "so that the two were matched as much as possible, in terms of difficulty and general content area within each of the literacy scales" (p. 14). Yet results showed that performance on both versions was substantially different. An additional seven core items were used to "screen" subjects who would not take the whole test. These core items were considered "relatively simple items" on page 13, but on page 198 the authors indicate that "The items in the core were mostly quite basic with the exception of the two reading items." One may conclude that there were a number of sources of random error in devising the test instrument.

To determine a criterion for functional literacy, the authors presented 24 Canadians and one adult literacy class, which counted as one vote, with 66 items (50 from the prose, document, and quantitative scales; nine from the reading proficiency scale; and seven from the core). The members of this jury were to complete the items and "indicate for each item whether or not that item should be answered for a person to be functionally literate." These 25 people (none from Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, or Manitoba), who mainly held professional or executive jobs, decided what *all* Canadians needed to be able to read in order to be classed as literate. Thus, while the ability to set up a meeting may have no pertinence for fisherfolk in rural Newfoundland, those persons were expected to answer correctly four questions on this middle-class value-laden activity. If they should get more than two of these four items wrong (even though all other items on the scale were correct), they would be classed as illiterate. The literacy tasks in many or most cases did not make "functional" sense. In fact, Kazemek (1983) would question whether it was ethical and moral for a group of individuals with middle-class values to determine what it means for all Canadians to be literate.

There was considerable disagreement by the jury regarding which items should be chosen, from a low of eight to a high of 37 (which the Report indicates was out of 38). To resolve this dilemma the *Literacy in Canada* authors decided to choose those 20 items on which there was 80% agreement. However, the study sample was not tested on all those 20 items; the items were allocated to two versions of the test, with 10 in version 1 and 14 in version 2 (four were common to each version). A standard or criterion of functional literacy was set which consisted of "answering a minimum of 80% of these items correctly."

The criterion of answering 80% of the items correctly represents a fine demarcation point separating literates from illiterates. For example, the 9%

who scored 8 out of 10 on version 1 were classed as literate while the 4% who scored 7 out of 10 were declared illiterate despite the NAEP authors' caution that "it is a somewhat inferential risky leap" that a percentage of a certain group scoring below a particular level cannot comprehend that item (Mikulecky, 1986, p. 215). Fisher (1978) had noted that college graduates had made some basic errors on items that were well within their capability, either due to their growing weary of completing the items or because the items were not part of a *meaningful functional reading situation*. This must be kept in mind when evaluating the finding that 8% of the university graduates (approximately 24) scored in the functional illiteracy category.

Interpreting the Data

The authors of the NAEP study had rejected any notion of labelling adults on the basis of particular cut-off points. Instead they assessed the literacy abilities of adults on three scales: prose comprehension (reading and responding to continuous text), document use (forms, tables, charts, etc.), and quantitative (reading that involves calculations). Performance was allocated to one of five levels: rudimentary, basic, intermediate, adept, and advanced. Why the NAEP authors decided not to categorize performance in terms of literate/illiterate is not known, but it may have been due to criticism of the Adult Performance Level Project (APL) commissioned earlier by the United States Office of Education to establish standards of functional competency based on level of education, level of income, and status of job (Northcutt, 1975). One of the criticisms of the APL project was the assumption that if an individual *could* read a particular item, that individual *would* and *did* read it as part of his or her existence. A second major criticism was that a definition or a national standard of functional literacy was not possible, for this would assume that all people in all parts of the country encountered the same needs and met them in the same way. The disagreement by the jury on which items should be chosen to measure literacy reflects the difficulty in choosing a national standard. Kazemek (1983) asserted that "there exists no empirical criterion for establishing standards of functional literacy for society as a whole" (p. 74). The authors of the *Literacy in Canada* report, in devising their functional literacy measure, fell into the same traps as the APL project. The only relativity the authors acknowledged was between an agricultural society, an industrial society, and a postindustrial society. Because Canada was a postindustrial society it was assumed that homogeneity existed from coast to coast.

While the *Literacy in Canada* authors indicated that one of their reasons for borrowing items from the NAEP scales was the availability of grade level equivalents, they rejected a grade level for interpreting their data. Reasons given for this included the difficulty of relating a grade level meaningfully across geographic areas and of relating its validity in determining a person's ability to *function* in society. Yet these same criticisms are inherent in the criterion they actually used. Even more confusing is the fact that the overall illiteracy rate for Canada did not represent actual performance. Of those who answered the items on version 1, 28% were classed as illiterate, while 20% of those who took version 2 were so classified. Not only do these

results cast doubt on the equivalence of the two versions, but they also point out the variability of the pertinence of particular items. However, rather than deal with the results as limitations, the authors decided merely to average the percentages (consisting of different items and administered to different groups) and thereby arrive at an illiteracy rate for Canada of 24%. They claimed that it was now possible “to take clusters of individuals operating at specific levels of functional literacy and describe their relevant characteristics” (p. 20), one of which according to Calamai (1988) is “darkness and hopelessness” (p. 7).

Among the various comparisons reported were those between groups of Canadians 21-25 years of age and an American group in the same age range that had been administered the NAEP scales. The data indicate that the Canadian sample is slightly behind its American counterparts. The authors indicate that in making such a comparison there

is the need to code oral answers to several questions as correct or incorrect. We again obtained the assistance of the NAEP researchers in this matter, and discussed with them the nuances of the coding categories used. There is no guarantee that our use of the coding categories was the same as theirs. (p. 199)

There is also no guarantee that the use of the coding categories was the same across any two coders. No inter-rater reliability data are provided, nor are the coding categories given.

Irrelevancy/Extremism of Information

Broken Words (Calamai, 1988) contains many examples of irrelevant and extreme statements. For example, it is observed that

In 1861, the census of Upper and Lower Canada asked residents to mark a space if anyone in the household was unable to read or write. By that definition scholars now estimate 10 percent of Hamilton's population was illiterate, many of them *Irish Catholic* immigrants. (p. 4)

Is it relevant that the immigrants were Irish Catholic?

In discussing the high illiteracy rate in Newfoundland, an interview with a respondent is quoted, “‘I can read; I’m not stund,’ he says, using the Newfoundland contraction for stunned, meaning stupid” (p. 20). How can anyone tell a spelling from a spoken word (unless Calamai pronounces *stunned* as *stunn-ed*)?

In discussing the changing role of Frontier College, the author claims, “the College can more easily raise money to help high school drop outs and factory workers, than for Newfies, East Indians, or natives” (p. 35). To what extent has Frontier College played a significant role in the lives of Newfoundlanders, East Indians, and Natives? Furthermore, it seems that the author does not possess the appropriate cultural knowledge to know that *Newfies* was a condescending term coined by the Americans during the days of American air and naval bases in Newfoundland, and while becoming more generally accepted for use among Newfoundlanders, it is still largely resented when used by “outsiders.”

The use of hyperbole is illustrated by statements such as “Conferences of the erudite International Reading Association degenerate into brawls when

academics champion their favored definition [of adult literacy]" (p. 14). The author of this article has been a member of the International Reading Association for approximately 20 years and at one time served as Chairperson of the Canadian Membership and Organization Committee. Memories of conferences are of orderly gatherings without any fanfare. Furthermore, only in the last few years has the International Reading Association begun to address adult literacy. Another example of extremism in language is "Like warring religious factions, the groups [exemplifying various philosophies of adult literacy] assail one another's doctrine, dogma, and paternity. Often the illiterates seeking help appear to be sacrificed to the ideological battle" (p. 43). The fact that a coalition of various national literacy groups (Movement for Canadian Literacy, Laubach Literacy of Canada, Canadian Association for Adult Education) exists would suggest that there is more likely to be peace among such diverse groups than war.

Images of Illiteracy

Regardless of the question of validity and reliability of the data in the Southam Reports, it is likely that both have and will continue to have considerable impact on the Canadian public. Two images in particular have been promoted by the reports: the image of Canada as an illiterate nation, and the image of the adult illiterate.

With an illiteracy rate of 24% which the *Literacy in Canada* report states is a conservative figure, Canada ranks behind many countries, including Third World countries, in terms of a literate population. This is especially disturbing when one considers the overall economic and social standards of Canada and the political influence which Canada exerts in world affairs. Perhaps even more disturbing is the claim that the image of Canada as an illiterate nation will persist because "100,000 illiterates a year are being added to the Canadian population by a flawed education system and humanitarian immigration policies" (Calamai, 1988, p. 8).

Even more striking is the image of the Canadian illiterate. Quotations in *Broken Words* from literacy learners and educators help portray what it means to be illiterate: "It's having documents shoved in front of you and being told to sign and not worry about what it says." "It's something like being an alcoholic." "No one knows the anger that people who can't read go through ... You're left in the dark." "Being illiterate is like trying to pick something up with both hands tied behind your back." One learner said, "We're living in a different world than people who can read." How different is that world? Perhaps it depends on whether that world is viewed as a half-empty glass or a glass half full! For example, 75% of the illiterates identified in the study did not feel that their reading skills (or lack thereof) were holding them back. Out of 16 areas (Table 92, *Literacy in Canada*) where lack of reading skills could be a problem, the illiterates and the literates differed substantially in only three areas; the illiterates felt held back in one, and the literates felt held back in two. Illiterates as a group did not appear to be deprived of involvement in current events. Fifty-two percent said they read a daily newspaper, and 49% of the functional illiterates followed govern-

ment and public affairs; this compares to 51% for the fuller literates. It is granted that there were more illiterates out of work and with lower paying jobs. But as Townson, the Ottawa economist (Calamai, 1988) pointed out, while one half of Ontario's welfare recipients are illiterate, they are not necessarily on welfare because they are illiterate. Also, the corollary of this statement must not be forgotten: Half of Ontario's welfare recipients are literate. Thus forces other than illiteracy must be operative. The generalization that adult illiterates are "lost souls" borders on being immoral. The significance of regionalism, relativism, and individualism seems to have been ignored. As Kazemek (1983) declared, "All people do not face the same real-world problems; therefore establishing a set of objectives which presumably all 'successful' people must meet is inappropriate. There are many ways of solving problems in life" (p. 77). Not only do many Canadians find out through many sources when a bus is leaving, but for many the problem of bus schedules does not exist. And as Darville (Calamai, 1988) and Fingeret (1983) point out, many people live complete and satisfying lives without bus schedules and even without literacy.

Implications

The Southam Report data have influenced provincial groups in their application for federal funds now being made available. In the October 1986 throne speech, the Federal Government committed itself to action on adult literacy including funding through the National Literacy Secretariat. One of the possible dangers of combining the Southam data with the present Federal Government initiatives is that there will be attempts at provincial mass campaigns, a search for all the illiterates identified in the Southam Report. Just as the suggestion (Calamai, 1988) that Michael J. Fox posters be placed *on every bus* in Canada to promote interest in literacy ignores the fact that for many Canadians buses are not part of their lives, so too an attempt to "round-up" all illiterates ignores the fact that many of these individuals are leading satisfying and productive lives (Goodyear, 1987). Furthermore, for many whose "literacy status" might be changed, nothing else in their lives will likely change.

It would seem to make more sense to try and accommodate the one tenth that is now enrolled or would like to enroll in a literacy program (*Literacy in Canada*). Data show that several literacy programs cannot accommodate the number of adults requesting admission, and waiting lists get longer (Edmonton Association for Continuing Education and Recreation, 1988).

Once a target population has been reached, it is important that it be provided with meaningful literacy programs. The present dropout rate is 50% (Calamai, 1988). Fingeret (1984) warns: "Applying national standards to a relative concept can detract from efforts to mould adult literacy programs to fit the specific goals of adults in varying contexts" (p. 9). The significance of Fingeret's statement is best appreciated if one considers the *logical* program implications of the Southam research data. Literacy programs would be organized across the country in which individuals would be subjected to prose comprehension, document use, and computation in

reading materials (those skills that make an adult literate). They would answer questions about swimmers in the Georgia Strait, abstract themes from Emily Dickinson's poems, interpret bus schedules, look up the headings for microcomputers in the Yellow Pages, take phone messages, organize meetings, write cheques, and calculate prices and tips for lunch menus, regardless of whether these skills have any meaning in their daily lives. Therefore, one must be careful of basing programs on the Southam definition of literacy as a determiner of content. As Langer (1988) states,

Research in a variety of fields has demonstrated that literacy is inextricably bound with economic, political, and religious issues and that societies (or groups within societies) become literate when the individual's or group's motivation to use literacy for some meaningful purpose intersects with society's willingness to facilitate related instruction. (p. 42)

Calamai's *Broken Words* (1988) provides a brief description of 19 literacy programs. An analysis of the information provided indicates several characteristics of programs: organizational structure, delivery systems, content, accessibility, nature of participants, interpersonal relations, and professional development. Not in a single instance is the nature of the reading and writing methodology addressed. There is no doubt that all of the mentioned characteristics are important in devising programs, but the crux of developing literacy skills involves acquiring competence in reading and writing. Unlike the situation in Third World countries, most illiterate Canadians have attended school. They are not encountering written language for the first time; many have tried before and failed. Due to maturation and different perspectives of literacy in their present lives, some may now be in a better position to develop literacy skills, but there are many who are beset with the same kinds of learning problems that they experienced in school. Furthermore, many of them are saddled with an albatross of irrelevant and misleading literacy concepts which must be considered and changed (often circuitously, [O'Brien, 1987]) if these adults are to succeed (Fagan, 1988).

While literacy programs ought to consider individual needs and help raise the consciousness of the participants to the issues within their lives, they must not kindle false hopes. The adult who looked for literacy because without it "the world will not see the peace and love that I dream" (Calamai, 1988) is dreaming under false illusions. Ironically, the world leaders who possess the power for peace or war are *literate*. Literacy must be viewed within a theory of relativity, not within a theory of utopianism.

The literacy educator has a grave responsibility and must possess a number of skills and characteristics. The dispute between the use of volunteers versus paid teachers is not really about volunteer versus salaried individuals. It is about expertise. When Serge Wagner (Calamai, 1988) makes the point that bureaucrats would not be content to have volunteers educate their children, the significant point he wishes to make is that these bureaucrats would want well-qualified individuals who have a long-term commitment and investment in educating their children. No doubt some volunteers are more competent and committed than some paid teachers and

vice versa. The nature of the necessary expertise for adult literacy educators (volunteer or paid) needs to be critically examined. The fact that volunteers "are almost quivering with anticipation" is not enough.

Conclusion

Many aspects of the Southam documents are open to question. But there is no denying that there are adults in Canada who have need for meaningful programs to upgrade their literacy skills. Literacy, however, must be defined in terms of the circumstances (economic, social, geographic, etc.) of the people involved and their needs, whether immediate or long term. A single, simple definition of literacy will not suffice. Also, there is no place for sensationalism in attempting to address an issue that varies so considerably in its significance for different groups and individuals within the Canadian population.

Note

1. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations are from the *Literacy in Canada* report.

References

- Calamai, P. (1988). *Broken words*. Ottawa: Southam Communications.
- Edmonton Association for Continuing Education and Recreation. (1988, February). Meeting of the Literacy Sub-committee, Edmonton.
- Fagan, W.T. (1988). *Concepts of reading and writing; Dependency relationships*. Unpublished paper. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Fingeret, A. (1983). Social network: A new perspective on independent and illiterate adults. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 33, 133-146.
- Fingeret, A. (1984). *Adult literacy education: Current and future directions*. Columbus, OH: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education, Ohio State University.
- Fisher, D.L. (1978). *Functional literacy and the schools*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.
- Goodyear, C. (1987, November 19). *The Evening Telegram*, St. John's, p. A1.
- Kazemek, F.E. (1983). *Toward a theoretical framework of adult literacy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Kirsch, I., & Jungeblut, A. (1986). *Literacy: Profiles of America's young adults* (Report No. 16-PL-02). Princeton, NJ: National Assessment of Education Progress.
- Langer, J.A. (1988). The state of research on literacy. *Educational Researcher*, 17, 42-46.
- Literacy in Canada: A research report*. (1987). Ottawa: Southam Communications.
- Mikulecky, L. (1986). The status of literacy in our society. In J.E. Readance & R.S. Baldwin (Eds.), *Research in literacy: Merging perspectives* (pp. 211-235). Rochester, NY: The National Reading Conference.
- Northcutt, N. (1975). *Adult functional competency: A summary*. Austin, TX: University of Texas.
- O'Brien, M.A. (1987, May). *The demonstrations of programs, teachers, and students: Lessons from an adult illiterate*. Paper presented at the Canadian Council of Teachers of English Conference, Winnipeg.

RAJINDER S. PANNU

University of Alberta

Adult Education, Economy, and State in Canada

Educational activities undertaken by Canadian adults are varied in scope and extensive in magnitude. But links between adult education and the changing social structural context—especially the state, labor markets and labor force, occupational structure and labor process, or the economy more generally—remain largely unexamined within an explicit theoretical framework. This article explores some of these links within a political economy framework and examines the implications for adult education of the changes in the Canadian economy and politics during the post World War II period, especially those which began in the mid-1970s.

Educational activities undertaken by Canadian adults 17 years and over on a part-time basis are varied in scope and extensive in magnitude. A recent national survey of participation in adult education undertaken for the Secretary of State revealed that one in every five Canadians enrolled in at least one adult education course in 1983 (Devereaux, 1984). Another recent study notes that participation in adult education has burgeoned dramatically since the mid-1970s and is expected to continue expanding (Buckland, 1985, p. 139). The opportunity for access to education through adult education and part-time study as a possible second chance for disadvantaged groups and as a vehicle for continuous upgrading and skill improvement has also received attention. (Adams, Draper, & Ducharme, 1979; National Advisory Panel on Skill Development Leave, 1984; Task Force on Skill Development Leave, 1983). However, the research on this question is as yet not extensive. Although the available studies on participation patterns and accessibility draw attention to some possible links between adult education and the social structural context, specifically class and gender inequalities (Canadian Association of Adult Education, 1982), there are few that add much to our understanding of the links between it and the state, job and labor markets, labor force and labor process, or economy more generally (Rubenson, 1987). Limits of our understanding in this respect have led one leading Canadian adult educator to concede that "adult education has remained a hidden dimension of Canadian social, economic, cultural, and political life" (Cassidy, 1987, p. 2).

This article explores some of these links within a political economy framework and examines the implications for adult education of the changes in Canadian politics and economy during the postwar period, especially those which began in the mid-1970s.

Dr. Pannu is professor of education and sociology and teaches in the Departments of Educational Foundations and Sociology.

Toward a Political Economy Perspective

Political economy is the study of power in society derived from or contingent on a system of private property rights, the historical development of power relations, and the social and cultural embodiments of such relationships (Marchak, 1985). Its starting premise is that we can come to know a society's key structures and diverse and specific social practices by examining the way in which the members of that society produce and reproduce the conditions of their existence (Clement, 1983, p. 377; Wotherspoon, 1987, p. 3). In the political economy perspective, schooling in contemporary societies is treated as a distinct institutional complex with its own diverse and distinct social practices and purposes, but one that is shaped by the power relations between different economic, political, and social groups. Because power relations among groups are expressed in increasingly important ways through a society's political structures, more specifically the state, any political economy analysis of the educational system must be based on some implicit or explicit analysis or theory of the purposes or functioning of the state (Carnoy, 1985; Wotherspoon, 1987). In other words, what is needed for a political-economic analysis of education in advanced capitalist societies such as Canada is a focus on the role of the state in the development and deployment of social policy in addressing contradictions endemic to their social and economic development.

The state, or more precisely the liberal democratic state, refers to a complex of institutions such as the government including the bureaucracy, the military, the judiciary, and representative assemblies including provincial and municipal institutions of government (Panitch, 1977, pp. 6-7). Following O'Connor (1973), the state must try to perform two basic but often contradictory functions: (a) to foster capital accumulation and (b) to foster social harmony and consensus. These so-called "functions" refer to what are merely tendencies at work within the capitalist state (Gough, 1979, p. 50). Whether the state meets these requirements, and the manner and the extent to which it does so, is not preordained in the state structure alone. However, in those countries which now comprise the advanced capitalist world, the role of the liberal state has mushroomed, and accumulation and legitimation related activities account for much of this growth. The liberal democratic state with a vastly expanded role in national capitalist economic and social policy development has emerged as a central institution during the post Great Depression era and is now commonly referred to as the "welfare state." Two important factors largely explain the growth of the welfare state: (a) the degree of class conflict, in particular, the strength and form of working-class struggle; and (b) the ability of the capitalist state to formulate and implement policies to secure the long-term reproduction of capitalist social relations (Gough, 1979, p. 64).

In the postwar expansionary era of advanced capitalism which culminated in the early 1970s, the welfare state policies expanded massively by attending in a more or less balanced way to the requirements of both capital accumulation and legitimation. However, the economic slump that developed thereafter pushed the capitalist state toward a radical revision of

its social policies and caused it to embark on a strategy of fiscal restraint. Imposition of restraint policies signalled the beginning of a drawn-out process of wide-ranging restructuring of capitalist societies including the welfare state which has continued to unfold during the 1980s (Gough, 1979; Ismael, 1987; Panitch, 1987).

Accumulation Crisis and Welfare State Policies

There is extensive evidence that capitalist societies have, since the early 1960s, been going through a period of prolonged crisis in their mechanisms of capital accumulation.¹ Educational developments of the last 40 years as well as the ones currently underway (Decore & Pannu, 1986; Livingstone, 1987b; Schechter, 1987), whether they have directly grown out of the actions of the state or emerged as indirect consequences of its economic strategy, constitute an important subset of a large and complex ensemble of carefully devised responses of the Canadian state to the postwar thrust of its economic development policies and, more recently, to the economic crisis which began to surface in Canada around 1970 (Wolfe, 1984, pp. 63-70). In this respect it should be noted that associated with the postwar expansionary economy of Canada, as of other advanced capitalist countries, was a commitment to high and stable levels of employment, generally viewed as a commitment to full employment. In Canada this commitment was less firm than in some other countries (Therborn, 1986, p. 113). Nonetheless, until 1975 the federal government did use fiscal and monetary policies as a means of demand management to maintain relatively low levels of unemployment. Thereafter, the Keynesian social and economic policy framework within which this commitment was rooted was abandoned (Wolfe, 1984).

This marked a significant shift in the Canadian government's economic and social development strategy. In its wake a much higher priority was placed on controlling inflation than on maintaining full employment. Related to the use of fiscal and monetary policies to combat inflation was the government's announcement that the growth of government expenditures would be held to a rate less than the growth of the GNP (Wolfe, 1984). The progressive implementation of the government's deliberate resolve to combat inflation relying on a comprehensive post-Keynesian policy so combined with the deepening recession in the global capitalist economy as to produce economic depression and rising unemployment from the late 1970s.

The shift from Keynesianism to monetary gradualism in 1975 signalled the end of the post-war era in Canadian economic policy and the abrogation of the post-war political compromise. The delicate balance that the post-war compromise attempted to strike between the economic interests of capital and wage and salary earners was replaced by a one-sided preoccupation with the concerns of business and the requirements of capital accumulation. With the demise of the Keynesian era and the onslaught of the new depression, the fundamental distributional issues that lie at the heart of a capitalist economy are once again at the forefront of political debate (p. 76).

In Canada the passing of the Keynesian era has been succeeded by renewed struggles between capital and labor. In the mediation of these struggles the state must act as an apparently neutral player and yet not

abandon its agenda to restructure itself as well as the economy. Foremost among these changes is the restructuring of work which, in turn, is producing changes in processes of production and production technologies, job definitions and requirements, relations of power and control in the workplace, labor markets, and polarization in the distribution of skill within the occupational structure (Panitch, 1987).

The development of adult education in Canada has been, and will continue to be, strongly influenced by the political economy of the country. Moreover, the implications of an emerging "new" political economic context for this educational sector are probably best understood when they are examined in relation to past developments.

Adult Education in Transition

Prior to the Second World War, adult education in Canada had the character of a more or less radical social movement. Its primary goal in the 1930s was to mobilize the poor and the unemployed—the victims of the Great Depression—in collective self-defense and for radical transformation of the Canadian society. Speaking of the social and ideological commitments of the popular adult education movement, Welton (1987a) writes:

When the Canadian adult education community achieved corporate identity in the Depression and War years, the welfare state had not yet emerged. Identifying the "central problem" of their time as economic and political powerlessness and animated by a vision of participatory democracy, adult educators sought to mobilize people at the grass roots to reflect collectively on their situation and devise solutions to their problems. The educational radicals of the 1930s and 1940s rejected liberal, individualistic educational ideals. Educators, they believed, had to take a stand on the fundamental issues of the day. Educational forms and purposes were tied to social and political purposes. Commitment to a democratic society demanded participatory pedagogy. The small group was universally regarded as the cell of the emergent new social order. (p. 29)

However, with the emergence of the welfare state in the mid-1940s, adult education was gradually incorporated into state social policies, particularly those related to education and job training. This has led to far-reaching changes in the general scope and character of what today passes for adult education. Its radical commitment to seek social transformation in order to attain a just and emancipatory democratic social order through popular adult education has disappeared. Today, continues Welton (1987a),

Canadian adult education, with notable exceptions, is professionalized, becalmed, and technicized. Many of us are captive to ideologies of the individual learner. We lack a coherent understanding of the social purpose of adult education. We are fragmented along institutional lines. We see ourselves as professionals marketing programs and not as activists mobilizing people through dialogue. Consequently, we are in a weak position to understand what role adult education can, and must, play in the resolution of our "structural binds." (pp. 29-30)

This important shift in the purposes and emphasis of adult education from social emancipation to personal development and self-improvement, insightfully noted and passionately lamented by Welton, inextricably linked as it is to the profound and irreversible structural transformations that have taken place in Canada in the postwar period and which are discussed

later, warrants some elaboration. The earlier radical mobilizational phase was clearly rooted in social movements which principally developed in two of Canada's economically peripheralized regions, the Maritimes and the Prairies. These movements were largely the responses of independent petty commodity producers to their subjection to a particular mode of economic exploitation of capitalist underdevelopment whereby the surplus value of their labor was appropriated by capital through the cost-price mechanism of unequal exchange (Sacouman, 1979, pp. 37-58). Thus adult education as a more or less politically oriented movement was regionally localized and largely located outside the state system of education and, needless to say, outside the state social policy framework. Eventually, the material and social conditions that spawned it lost their salience during World War II and in the context of major social-structural changes that followed. These changes included the general expansion of the Canadian state and its centrality in future social and economic development, the expansion of the Canadian economy and the concomitant consolidation of corporate capitalism, the declining significance of individual production based on domestic mode of production and exchange, and the massive expansion of the educational system.

The resulting structural and ideological conditions were inimical to the continuation of the very social movements and politics of protest in which the radical adult education had its origins. Although destructive of these phenomena, they permitted the newly emerged Canadian welfare state to redefine itself as an essentially transpolitical and technocratic entity. In such a nonpartisan role, "the state is severed from the visible class dimensions of political strife and debate. [It] ... administers, in fact, a social reality in which all interests can be reconciled by the magic of science applied to the limitless expansion of output" (Larson, 1977, p. 144). The political significance of the state's ability to appear nonpartisan lies in its enhanced capacity to inhibit the growth, if not the emergence, of class-oriented politics in the organized political party system. Such a state tends to develop a symbiotic and organic interdependence with the "scientific expert" and the "professional administrator" and, as a corollary, with the education system's institutional complex, especially universities. The significance of the modern university arises from its being the locus for the institutionalized production of professionals and the meritocratic legitimations which underwrite their power and public credibility. Such conditions in postwar Canada, as in other advanced capitalist societies, provided the initial impetus for and sustained the growth of "depoliticized" adult education.

The material conditions that underlay the reforms in postwar Canadian education were also responsible for the growth of adult education. The maturing of corporate capitalism in Canada during the period under study resulted in the growth of the tertiary sector, the growth of the professional and semiprofessional salariat, an increase in the white-collar proletariat, and the integration of significantly more female workers into the labor force. These developments led to the growing need to prepare recruits for positions in the bureaucratized corporate and state sectors, especially the new

stratum of salaried technicians and semiprofessionals. The growth of the community colleges in which a significant bulk of the rapidly growing adult education services and programs became located reflected the need to produce such workers.

Accordingly, it is the "professionalized" version of adult education (Welton, 1987a, p. 12) that "came of age" in Canada and experienced an exceptional expansion in the postwar period (Campbell, 1980; Clarke & Brundage, 1982, pp. 207-241; Selman & Kulich, 1980). Its growth has been driven by the same structural and ideological transformations that brought about the substantial expansion of the state, the occupational class structure, and the entire educational system. These transformations include the perceived need for skilled manpower premised on ever-increasing requirements for more advanced technical and productive skills of an expanding economy; the pressing concern of the "neutral" state for rationalization, not necessarily reduction, of structured inequalities of advanced capitalism; and the increased popular demand for expanded access to education because of the progressively tightening link of educational credentials and the labor market, coupled with the central importance of wage labor as the major means of currently earning a livelihood.

The relevance of the latter factor—education and labor market linkage—is often overlooked. Wage labor system and labor markets in advanced capitalism, quite unlike those in less developed capitalist social formations, do not stand apart; they are both irrevocably tied to the world of work. It is the wage labor system that mediates the education system-labor market linkage and tightly binds the former to the latter (Lenhardt, 1981). Adult education, especially the segment which derives its preeminent purpose of training and retraining of adults in productive skills and involvement in vocational renewal and upgrading—as embodied in its activities mandated by the state that revealed the influence of liberal theories of industrialism and human capital—is more directly vulnerable and indeed more receptive to the logic of change inherent in labor markets than are other realms of the educational system. Thus its own institutional culture—overlaid with Progressivism's idealist commitment to individual self-development as well as the noticeable influence of the ahistorical and decontextualized and, therefore, ideological notion of the "self" and its "needs-driven" development as derived from "humanistic" psychology (Welton, 1987b, pp. 52-57)—tends to make it a largely uncritical and unreflective agency for the social reproduction of labor for the rapidly changing labor markets of an increasingly "capital-centered" (rather than a "person-centered") postindustrial society.

In sum, adult education in Canada during the last 50 years has been shaped by major changes in the social structure of the country. The structural changes were expanded role and changed character of the state; the massive growth in the size of the industrial and business corporation and of the workplace, along with their bureaucratization; the rise to new prominence of the service sectors of the economy; and the massive expansion of the entire educational system. Concurrently, there have been

dramatic shifts in the composition of the Canadian labor force and the structure of the labor markets (Kaliski, 1985; Marchak, 1985, pp. 688-691; Riddell, 1985; Rinehart, 1987). These developments mirror the advance of corporate capitalism in Canada and, as female employment grew, affected gender, class, and perhaps ethnic relations (Cross & Kealey, 1984, p. 79). This is the context in which the analysis and a critique of postwar developments in adult education must be situated.

In the first 20 years after World War II, the Canadian economy and the markets for labor grew rapidly and so did the educational system both in size and diversity. Although formal educational institutions in Canada were concerned principally with the education of children and youth, most began to extend their function to include educational activities for adults in accordance with the trend toward vocationalization. But the phenomenal growth of the nonuniversity postsecondary educational sector during the 1960s was probably the most important institutional factor in the growth of adult education. Because of their special focus on vocational and career education and training, these institutions stressed accessibility through provision for part-time study. In so doing, they became a dominant and different type of agency engaged in adult education provision and served as state-funded loci for its consolidation and expansion.

The expansion of adult education during this period was an integral part of the extensive vocationalization of Canadian education critically analyzed by Schechter (1977) in his seminal essay "Capitalism, Class, and Educational Reform in Canada." Some of the more significant changes in education which took place in the 1960s were the establishment of progressive education as the dominant doctrine and educational practices associated with it; the consolidation of school boards and the development of composite high schools with the expansion of vocational education; the expansion of postsecondary education, especially at the nonuniversity level; and rationalization of the educational sector under provincial jurisdiction and control (Schechter, 1977).

Not surprisingly, the main beneficiaries of the expansion of adult education appear to have been those who already enjoyed advantages of favorable education, income, and class position (Dickinson & Verner, 1977, p. 87)². Nevertheless, this expansion as a complement of educational expansion at all levels also enabled the state and the reformers in general to claim that they and the educational system were delivering on their promise of democratization and equalization of opportunity. In this way, it has played an important role in promoting meritocratic legitimation of the structure of inequalities characteristic of corporate capitalism.

State sponsorship and incorporation of adult education into social policy signalled a significant shift in the development of adult education. Federal government presence, although indirect, looms large in shaping this learning system. Adult education, as a consequence, has become closely integrated with "specific development needs relating to regional disparities, industrial development, poverty, unemployment and bilingual and cultural diversity" (Clark & Brundage, 1982, p. 208). This is not to suggest,

however, that adult education is principally the creature of federal government policy imperatives. In the postwar era, the Canadian state at the provincial level also became increasingly involved in economic development and therefore in the capital accumulation function. Consequently, it too has contributed actively to the growth of adult education in order to produce the requisite labor force. Governments began operating most of their employment-training programs through community colleges or similar institutions. The federal government, under the provisions of the Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA) of 1966 developed the Canada Manpower Training Program (CMPT) and used it to provide employment training through the community colleges, thereby boosting the expansion of adult education directly until the end of 1974. Funds used for that program were at that point placed in the hands of provincial governments, thus enlarging their role in this aspect of adult education.

While up to the mid-1970s personal development/general interest related learning opportunities were readily available alongside the vocationally oriented ones, the former began to be curtailed, or in some instances withdrawn, under the growing impact of government funding cutbacks in the late 1970s (Pitman, 1987; Thomas, 1987). In the context of the deepened accumulation crisis since the early 1980s, as the state in Canada continues to engage in a broad-based strategy of restructuring the political economy and makes a transition from its policies emphasizing "income security" to those emphasizing "job creation" (Ismael, 1987), adult education is expected increasingly to become even more vocational in orientation. Gough (1979) has suggested that education can be adjusted to adapt the labor force and potential labor force more effectively to the needs of the labor market and expects the current crisis to strengthen the hands of the "industrial trainers." What are the main features of the labor markets and how might they affect adult education as capitalism negotiates its way through the current crisis to the next century?

Changing Occupational Structures and Labor Markets

Changes in Canada's labor force reflect important developments in the evolving "post-industrial" economy (Drache & Cameron, 1985, pp. 136-145). One of the most significant social trends has been the continuing increase in the labor force participation. Between 1966 and 1985, the participation rate for women has risen from 35.4% to 54.3% (Canadian Social Trends, 1986). In 1981 close to 10 million Canadians were employed for wages and salaries—6.8 million in services and 3.1 million in goods-producing industries. Of the former, 49% were women; of the latter 77% were men. Between 1961 and 1981, the labor force increased by 5,358,000. Of this number, 3,450,000 were women. Women now make up over 41% of the labor force and have accounted for 57% of the increase since 1961. They work mainly in the service industries and in a much narrower range of low-wage, low-status occupations than men.

Closely associated with the increase in the labor force participation rate of women has been the much more rapid growth in service-based industries compared with the goods-producing sector of the economy (Canadian Social

Trends, 1986). Total employment in the service sector grew by 61% between 1970 and 1985 as compared with only 13% growth in the goods-producing sector. In 1985 the service industries' share stood at about 70% of all jobs in Canada—an all-time high. This shift in sectoral employment has been most pronounced in the 1980s.

The differential in the growth of the goods-producing versus service industries has several implications for the labor market as the two sectors are quite different in the type of employment associated with each. The differences in employment are: (a) a higher proportion of women are employed in the service sector (50.5% compared with 23.4% in the goods-producing sector in 1985); (b) the service sector has a higher proportion of part-time employment (19.5% compared with 6.1% for the goods-producing sector); (c) average weekly earnings are much lower in the service sector; and (d) goods-producing industries have a higher unemployment rate. (Between 1961 and 1981 the number of service workers including state employees increased by 3,911,000. Of this number, 2,430,000 were women. Four out of five of the women who have entered the labor force since 1961 have been service workers. Total increase in the number of office and clerical workers between 1961 and 1981 was 1,227,000. Of this number 1,110,000 were women and the majority, though not all, were employed in service industries.)

Another significant development in the labor market situation is the sizable growth in part-time employment. Between 1975 and 1985 total part-time employment in Canada increased by 78%, from 988,000 to 1,757,000, and part-time workers, as a proportion of the employed work force, increased from 11% in 1975 to 16% in 1985. Part-time work is now largely the preserve of women. In 1985, 72% of all part-time employees were women, and 26% of all employed women worked part time, compared with just 8% of men. Part-time employment of women has been the single fastest growing segment of the Canadian labor force over the last dozen years.

Part-time workers, an increasing component of the Canadian labor force and predominantly female, have lower average hourly wages and lower rates of pension coverage than do full-time workers. In 1984 the average hourly wage of part-time workers was 66% of that of their full-time counterparts. Few part-time workers are unionized or covered by collective agreements. In 1984 only 16% of all part-time workers were union members compared with 38% of their full-time counterparts. Similarly, in 1984 a mere 9% of part-time workers compared with 49% of full-time workers were covered by an employer-sponsored pension plan.

Concomitant with the changes discussed above, persistent high levels of unemployment have developed in the Canadian economy, especially since 1975. Unemployment in Canada during the 1980s, even in 1988 after a steady decline in the overall rate since 1986, has been higher than at any other time in the post World War II period. The official rate of unemployment in Canada has remained considerably above 10% from 1981 onward. Only since the latter part of 1987 has it tended to edge toward slightly

below this level. The real rate is considered to be much higher than the official rate (Canadian Social Trends, 1987; Drache & Cameron, 1985, pp. 3-22). Moreover, the experience of unemployment is not evenly distributed across all population groups. Unemployment is much more heavily concentrated among young people, those with minimal education being the worst off.

The current high unemployment rate is essentially structural in nature. It is the result of vast technological change characterized by the deployment of computers and other microtechnologies such as robotics. Unemployment also reflects the movement of capital to new locations, or to new sectors and industries when unionization of labor and corporate taxation policies create impediments to smooth capital accumulation. New technologies displace traditional labor skills and alter the pattern by which labor can be utilized to maximum advantage. But most of the jobs and labor skills for which the new technology creates demand do not seem to require complex education and training. Reviewing the recent projection for medium-term labor requirements of Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, the Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (Volume II, 1985) comments that "The largest absolute numbers of new job openings are likely to occur in occupations such as secretarial and stenographic services, bookkeeping, truck driving, janitorial services, public dining services or nursing" (p. 746).

Increases in part-time employment, long-term unemployment, and jobs in low-paid service occupations in which increasing proportions of already disadvantaged groups such as women are employed and becoming increasingly concentrated are some of the obvious consequences of the current restructuring of capital and work in Canada. But what is less obvious, for it is contrary to conventional wisdom, is the fact that most of the new jobs that it creates are low skill and low status. The great majority of these jobs "in the foreseeable future will not require major shifts in educational preparation.... For many jobs, even the recent emphasis on 'computer literacy for all' is increasingly questioned" (Rinehart, 1987, p. 168). The Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (Volume II, 1985) also noted

that the evidence that technological and economic change would require a more highly-skilled and sophisticated labor force was not necessarily compelling. Rather, it seemed that the skills required of the labor force over the rest of the century might be somewhat different in content from the current mix, but not a great deal more sophisticated. (p. 757)

The picture that emerges from my review of the situation is one of decisive shift in the Canadian occupational structure toward low-skill, low-pay, and low-status jobs in services, part-time jobs, long-term unemployment, and a labor market that is becoming more radically segmented.

The large increase in the participation rate in adult education noted earlier is paradoxical in the context of changes in labor markets just described. The paradox becomes all the more profound in light of the evidence that, despite the rapid adoption of the new technologies in the workplace over the

last decade or so, educational requirements for jobs have generally not increased and many people today are seemingly overeducated for the jobs they hold (Livingstone, 1987a). High levels of unemployment persist not so much for want of appropriate levels of education in the labor force but due to scarcity of good jobs (Harvey & Blakeley, 1985).

This paradox, however, is more apparent than real. Sources of the current pressure on Canadians to seek further educational qualifications are multifarious. Increased threat of unemployment, heightened sense of job insecurity, increased pools of surplus well-educated labor, mounting demand for retraining contingent on the introduction of new technologies, and the growing scarcity of attractive and challenging jobs are among many of the structural sources of this pressure. Another important factor is the shift in government policies concerning employment and job creation following its abandonment of Keynesianism and the shift to monetary gradualism in 1975. Full employment was soon discarded as a central objective of public policy. Adoption of the economic paradigm has led the government to stress *training* for employment and jobs rather than direct *job creation*. Although the main policy thrust since 1982 has been on encouraging and financing on-the-job training programs, it is likely to have reinforced the pressures on adults for further education and training through the familiar institutional route which the federal government has continued to use to provide a significant portion of Canada's occupational training. If the present emphasis on job training in government policy and private pursuit for further training related to perceived labor market dynamics continue, adult education is likely to become progressively vocationalized.

Conclusion

During the 15 or so years immediately preceding the economic slump that hit the global capitalist economy in the early 1970s, Canada shared in the general prosperity provided by sustained economic growth and expansion. Its educational system grew and diversified in the context of economic growth and prosperity under the dual influence of human capital theory and progressivism. The pattern of growth of adult education reflected in its programs a certain balance between the goals of occupational training and "combating poverty" (investment in human capital) and cultural development/personal growth (education for personal consumption). The near-amnesia induced by the prevalent "end of scarcity" doctrine hid from view the tensions inherent between the doctrines of human capital and progressivism as well as the contradictions that always simmer and occasionally boil over that are integral to capitalism. As the contradictions burst open the institutional arrangements hammered out by social classes under corporate capital's hegemony, progressivism in the educational arena comes under attack and becomes dispensable. The state, to restore economic growth and reestablish capital's hegemony, attempts "another turn of the screw" (Schechter, 1987). One wonders if it will have education on its side. Knowing that Canadian adult education once, in its early history during the last great crisis of capitalism, stood with its victims as they collectively struggled for

their emancipation, one cannot help but wonder with whom it will side in the current crisis.

Notes

1. As to the nature of the current accumulation crisis, Livingstone (1985) states that During the past decades, private business' aggregate propensity to invest in new production initiatives has been generally depressed, while the restructuring and relocation of large corporate enterprises have de-stabilized many communities; record post-war unemployment levels have persisted, especially for young people; and high interest rates and declining real wages have limited collective consumption capacity. (p. 11)
For a comprehensive discussion of the nature of the crisis, see O'Connor (1984) for the U.S. and Wolfe (1983) for Canada. For a more general discussion see O'Connor (1987).
2. This inference was corroborated by Devereaux's study in 1982.

References

- Adams, R.J., Draper, P.M., & Ducharme, C. (1979, June). *Education and working Canadians: Report of the Commission of Inquiry on educational leave and productivity*. Labour Canada.
- Buckland, L. (1985). Education and training: Equal opportunities or barriers to employment? In *Equality in employment: Royal Commission Report research studies*.
- Campbell, D.D. (1980). On sailing with or against the wind. *Studies in Adult Education*, 12, 13-28.
- Canadian Association of Adult Education. (1982). *From the Adult's Point of View*.
- Canadian Social Trends. (1986, autumn). Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services, Government of Canada.
- Canadian Social Trends. (1987, autumn). Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services, Government of Canada.
- Carnoy, M. (1985). The political economy of education. *International Social Science Journal*, 37, 157-173.
- Cassidy, F. (1987). Adult learning and citizenship. In F. Cassidy & R. Faris (Eds.), *Choosing our future: Adult education and public policy in Canada* (pp. 2-11). Symposium Series/17. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Clark, R.J., & Brundage, D.H. (1982). Adult education opportunities in Canada. In R.E. Peterson, J.S. Helmick, J.R. Valley, S. Shake Graff, R.A. Feldmesser, & H.D. Nielsen (Eds.), *Adult education and training in industrialized countries* (pp. 207-241). New York: Praeger.
- Clement, W. (1983). Canadian political economy. In M.M. Rosenberg, W.B. Shaffir, A. Turowetz, & M. Weinfeld (Eds.), *An introduction to sociology* (pp. 375-400). Toronto: Methuen.
- Cross, M.S., & Kealey, G.S. (Eds.). (1984). *Modern Canada 1930-1980's: Readings in Canadian social history*, Vol. 5. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Decore, A.M., & Pannu, R.S. (1986). Educational financing in Canada 1970-71 to 1984-85: Who calls the tune, who pays the piper? *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 16, 27-49.
- Devereaux, M.S. (1984). *One in every five: A survey of adult education in Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada and Education Support Sector, Department of the Secretary of State.
- Dickinson, G., & Verner, C. (1977). Canada. In *Learning opportunities for adults*, Vol. 4. Paris: OECD.
- Drache, D., & Cameron, D. (Eds.). (1985). *The other MacDonald Report*. Toronto: James Lorimer.
- Gough, I. (1979). *The political economy of the welfare state*. London: Macmillan.
- Harvey, E.B., & Blakeley, J. (1985). *Education, social mobility and the challenge of technological change*. Paper prepared for the Transition to Work conference convened by the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
- Ismael, J.S. (Ed.). (1987). *The Canadian welfare state: Evolution and transition*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

- Kaliski, S.F. (1985). Trends, changes and imbalances: A survey of the Canadian labour market. In C.W. Riddell (Research Coordinator), *Work and pay: The Canadian labour market* (pp. 77-140). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Larson, M.S. (1977). *The rise of professionalism, A sociological analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lenhardt, G. (1981). School and wage labor. *Economic and industrial democracy*, Vol. 2 (pp. 191-221). London and Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Livingstone, D.W. (1985). *Social crisis and schooling*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Livingstone, D.W. (1987a). Job skills and schooling: A class analysis of entry requirements and underemployment. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 12(1), 1-30.
- Livingstone, D.W. (1987b). Crisis, classes and educational reform in advanced capitalism. In T. Wotherspoon (Ed.), *The political economy of Canadian schooling* (pp. 57-68). Toronto: Methuen.
- Marchak, P. (1985). Canadian political economy. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 22, 673-709.
- National Advisory Panel on Skill Development Leave. (1984). *Learning for life: Overcoming the separation of work and learning*. Report to the Minister of Employment and Immigration. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- O'Connor, J. (1973). *The fiscal crisis of the state*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- O'Connor, J. (1984). *Accumulation crisis*. New York: Blackwell.
- O'Connor, J. (1987). *The meaning of crisis: A theoretical introduction*. New York: Blackwell.
- Panitch, L. (Ed.). (1977). *The Canadian state: Political economy and political power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Panitch, L. (1987). Capitalist restructuring and labour strategies. *Studies in Political Economy*, 24, 131-149.
- Pitman, W. (1987). The cultural connection. In F. Cassidy & R. Faris (Eds.), *Choosing our future: Adult education and public policy in Canada* (pp. 131-146). Symposium Series/17. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, 1985 (Vol. II).
- Riddell, C.W. (1985). *Work and pay: The Canadian labour market*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Rinehart, J. (1987). *The tyranny of work alienation and the labour process*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Rubenson, K. (1987). Adult education: The economic context. In F. Cassidy & R. Faris (Eds.), *Choosing our future: Adult education and public policy in Canada* (pp. 77-102). Symposium Series/17. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Sacouman, J.R. (1979). The differing origins, organisation, and impact of Maritime and Prairie co-operative movements to 1940. In R.J. Brym & J.R. Sacouman (Eds.), *Underdevelopment and social movement in Atlantic Canada* (pp. 37-58). Toronto: New Hogtown Press.
- Schechter, S. (1977). Capitalism, class, and educational reform in Canada. In L. Panitch (Ed.), *The Canadian state, political economy and political power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Schechter, S. (1987). Another turn of the screw: Education reform in progress. In T. Wotherspoon (Ed.), *The political economy of Canadian schooling* (pp. 45-56). Toronto: Methuen.
- Selman, G., & Kulich, J. (1980). Between social movement and profession—A historical perspective on Canadian adult education. *Studies in Adult Education*, 12, 109-126.
- Task Force on Skill Development Leave. (1983). *Learning a living in Canada*, 2 vols. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.
- Therborn, G. (1986). *Why some people are more unemployed than others*. London: Verso.
- Thomas, A. (1987). Government and adult learning. In F. Cassidy & R. Faris (Eds.), *Choosing our future: Adult education and public policy in Canada* (pp. 103-130). Toronto: OISE Press.
- Welton, M. (1987a). On the eve of a great mass movement: Reflections on the origin of the CAAE. In F. Cassidy & R. Faris (Eds.), *Choosing our future: Adult education and public policy in Canada* (pp. 12-35). Toronto: OISE Press.

- Welton, M. (1987b). Vivisecting the nightingale: Reflections on adult education as an object of study. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 19(1), 46-68.
- Wolfe, D.A. (1983, summer). The crisis in advanced capitalism: An introduction. *Studies in Political Economy*, 11, 7-26.
- Wolfe, D.A. (1984). The rise and demise of the Keynesian era in Canada: Economic policy, 1930-1982. In M.S. Cross & G.S. Kealey (Eds.), *Modern Canada 1930-1980's Readings in Canadian social history*, Vol. 5 (pp. 46-80). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Wotherspoon, T. (Ed.). (1987). *The political economy of Canadian schooling*. Toronto: Methuen.

SYLVIA SCHMELKES

and

LUIS NARRO

Center for Educational Research (Mexico)

Adult Education and Training in Mexico

This article provides a description and critical appraisal of adult basic education and skill upgrading programs in Mexico. What others can learn from the Mexican experience is outlined and then examined in relation to three basic approaches to adult education.

In 1980 Mexico reached 98% of the effective demand for primary education (the population of six-year-olds seeking admission to primary schools). Although terminal efficiency rates for primary education are still low (50% of those who enter primary school complete their primary education within six years), it can be said that one of the main causes producing adult illiterates is being rapidly eliminated.

This educational expansion phenomenon occurs within a context of enormous socio-economic and cultural inequalities. Educational expansion also reproduces inequality due to several factors that result in low achievement rates, school failure, and school abandonment. The factors that reproduce inequality within the educational system itself must be recognized as important: unequal distribution of qualitative and quantitative human, physical, and material resources that negatively affect the less favored groups and regions. The result of this inequality is that educational marginalization is becoming less a consequence of the scarcity of educational services and more dependent on factors of a qualitative nature such as social, economic, and cultural differences.

Despite these conditions, an examination of the relatively recent phenomenon of full attention to the effective demand for basic education, as well as that of nearing the residual rate of illiteracy defined as 4% by UNESCO, yields some useful insights. In the following pages, the historical development of adult education in Mexico and the problems that it has faced are reviewed. We indicate the lessons that can be learned from this Mexican experience and highlight the problems that have not been attended to. We also interpret the achievements and difficulties of the present adult educational policy.

Dr. Schmelkes serves as Technical Director of the Center, and Dr. Narro is the Director with overall responsibility.

Recent Historical Background

The National Law of Education for Adults was first published in 1975 (Poder Legislativo Federal). Inspired by the principles of lifelong education, this law establishes the conditions for operating diverse forms of extra-school education. Adult education is defined as “a form of out-of-school education based on self-learning and social solidarity ... in order to obtain, transmit and increase culture and to fortify the conscience of unity among all sectors of the population” (Article 2). The objectives of adult education are defined as follows:

1. To give every person 15 years of age and older the possibility of reaching the level of knowledge and abilities equivalent to a general basic education that includes primary and secondary education.
2. To foster permanent education through the study of all types of specialities and activities, on-the-job and for-the-job training, as well as permanent professional training.
3. To foster self-learning.
4. To develop physical and intellectual aptitudes as well as a critical consciousness in the student.
5. To elevate the cultural levels of those marginal sectors of the population so that they may participate in the responsibilities and benefits of a shared national development.
6. To propitiate the creation of a consciousness of social solidarity; to promote the improvement in family life, work life, and social life.

The National System for Adult Education was established to facilitate the operation of the National Plan for Adult Education and the adult education law. It is comprised of:

1. A literacy campaign using new curriculum guides based on the global structural analysis method for teaching reading and writing. Literacy is now conceived as the “introductory level” to elementary education.
2. A program of primary education for adults consisting of three levels and four areas (mathematics, Spanish, social sciences, and natural sciences) per level. This program includes a textbook designed especially for the adult population for each level in each area (12 in all) that is distributed at no cost to the learner.
3. A program of secondary education for adults consisting also of three levels and the same four areas. The program also includes 12 textbooks distributed at low cost to the learner.
4. A “circles of study” system of volunteer tutors who help the adult student organize his or her learning. However, the adult may choose a self-learning strategy.
5. A system of evaluation and certification that permits the adult student to accredit a whole level, a complete cycle, only one area, or any combination of areas and levels according to his or her personal rate. Exams are offered on a national level every two months.

In 1981 the National Institute for the Education of Adults (INEA, in Spanish) was established. The general objective of this institute is to offer education programs that contribute to the development of the capacities of the adult population in order to improve the quality of their lives and to promote the social and economic welfare of the country.

The INEA offers the prospect of unifying and professionalizing the multiple programs in adult education that had been without unity until 1981. During the first few years of its existence, the INEA implemented programs that covered the following areas: literacy training, basic education, job training, and cultural improvement. These programs sought to enhance educational quality and establish productive relationships with the economic and social system.

The program of highest priority was the literacy training program. This ambitious program aimed to teach reading and writing to one million adults in 16 months, and to maintain the subsequent literacy skills in order to ensure that the illiteracy rate would be reduced drastically from 17% to 2% by 1990. Although 600,000 adults became literate in those 16 months (INEA, 1987a, Appendix 3), this aim has not been met. The main reason for this seems to be the lack of a developed organic structure within the new institute due to the extensive projects under its auspices.

The INEA programs were carried out in the context of a favorable economic climate in the country. The Echeverría regime (1976-1982) ended with the discovery of huge oil deposits in southeastern Mexico. However, it was President López Portillo (1982-1986) who took advantage of these resources for national development. The economic boom that resulted and the enormous input of external loans to finance the oil venture enabled a considerable increase in social expenditure, particularly in the educational realm. It was a time of creative political decision making in a national context where economic resources were abundant. The problems that these debts would bring in the near future, together with the decrease in productive investment, the drop in international oil prices, and the increase of interest rates in the international financial market, helped cause the well-known crisis that occurred at the end of this regime. The consequences of this crisis for educational development were enormous, especially for the rapid expansion in primary educational services.

Present Educational Reality

Soon after taking office, President Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988) announced his intention of carrying out an "Educational Revolution." This entailed improving the quality of education while maintaining and extending the quantitative advancements of the previous years.

The National Program of Education, Culture, Recreation and Sports (1984-1988) was intended to plan and implement this educational revolution. It aimed to improve the quality of education at all levels starting with the integral training of teachers; rationalizing the use of the available resources; extending the access to educational services for all Mexicans by giving special and privileged attention to marginal regions and groups; and regionalizing and decentralizing basic education and teacher education; and

reducing the concentration of higher education, research, and cultural activities (Poder Ejecutivo Federal, 1984, p. 38).

More than three years after the program for the educational revolution was published, however, significant provisions of educational programs for target populations have been few and indirect. The educational revolution dwindled down to two important reforms: the elevation of teacher education from a technical to a higher level of education, and the decentralization of basic education and teacher education.

Literacy Training

The most important and successful of INEA's adult education programs is the National Program for Literacy Training. Between 1930 and 1980, the absolute number of illiterates who were 15 years of age and over remained constant at 6.5 million, even though the rate of illiteracy had progressively diminished, largely as a result of the expansion of formal schooling. Since 1981, because of the sustained efforts of the National Program for Literacy Training, the absolute number of illiterates began to drop, reaching 3.7 million in 1986. This means that the illiteracy rate declined from 13% to 7.7%. By 1988 the illiteracy rate is expected to be reduced to its residual number (4%).

Attainment of the goal of teaching the skills of reading and writing to 4.1 million adults in five years required a massive investment of time, energy, and money. Thus in 1986 alone, one million adults became literate. The strategy employed in providing services contained two key elements: (a) giving special attention to those regions with the highest illiteracy rates (INEA, 1987a), and (b) adapting methods, materials, and content to the needs, interests, and circumstances of rural, urban, and Indian groups (INEA, 1987b), including the reduction in "generative words" from 15 to 12.¹

The program for the literacy training still faces great difficulties. Those internal to the program include: (a) deficiencies in the information base for planning, (b) lack of skill and high turnover among "operational agents," and (c) inflexible and unresponsive infrastructures centrally and regionally.

The main difficulties, however, are those external to the program: the marginality, dispersion, and extreme poverty of the illiterate population. Arising from these conditions are three major problems which are likely to persist unless major policy and operational reforms are undertaken. One is the continuation of high drop-out rates. Reducing the drop-out rate to 35% is a great achievement. However, if this rate remains constant, 1,300,000 adults will remain illiterate.

A second is the lack of attention given to the most marginal population. Although what is now being done to teach the Indian population in their mother tongue is commendable, 800,000 monolingual Indians in 56 ethnic groups scattered throughout the country remain unaffected by the program.² The goal established in 1987 to reach 250,000 adult Indians seems unreasonably high because the textbooks for teaching literacy in the mother tongue are, in most instances, still being designed. If those unaf-

fectured by current efforts are added to those who drop out, the total number of illiterates becomes about two million. The migrant population is also being overlooked. This population has been estimated at approximately 700,000 adults. The migrant cane-cutters number around 100,000, and many of them migrate with members of their nuclear family (Juárez, 1986, p. 14). To these cane-cutters, the populations of the cotton, tobacco, and tomato harvesters must be added. There is also the population that migrates seasonally to the United States. The semiproletarianized peasant population is estimated at five million, and the illiteracy rate among these adults is higher than average.

The third problem is the lack of emphasis on postliteracy training. Planners have ignored the accumulated evidence regarding the failure of massive literacy campaigns when societal contexts remain unaltered and when additional provisions are not made for ensuring the permanence of the acquired abilities.

In Mexico, literacy training is conceived as a first step in a process that includes primary education and training for activities adequate to meet the needs of the adult. This concept places restrictions on postliteracy training. There is no reason to believe that all literate adults are interested, or have the need, to enter a long educational process leading to certification. Moreover, the Community Education Program—cultural promotion and for-the-job training—has at present a small capacity and is unable to provide for all those who wish to participate.

Basic Education

Another of the programs for which the INEA assumed responsibility is that of Basic Education for Adults. The potential clientele for this program are the 30,000,000 Mexicans who are 15 years of age or older and who have not had access to, or have not finished, primary or secondary education. When the INEA inherited this program, the curriculum for primary and secondary education was already defined, the textbooks prepared, and its operational system designed. During the last five years, participation in the program has progressively increased to the point where 1.5 million adults are involved, about 5% of the potential demand. However, its terminal efficiency is exceedingly low (18% in primary education and 21% in secondary education).

To alleviate these shortcomings, INEA (1986) has proposed a transformation in the nature and organization of the teaching-learning process rooted in a concept of adult education as

the extra-school mode of national education that, based on self-learning and social participation, has the end of becoming, for those Mexicans that did not finish their basic education when they were of school age, the principal means of acquiring, transmitting and enriching culture through participating in a systematic, orderly and certifiable manner, of universal knowledge and of those elements that give our country its specific profile. It seeks to fortify intellectual habits, to favor the formation of attitudes of social solidarity and those values that support, in liberty and dignity, a full life. All this within the framework of the satisfaction of the needs of society and of the students, with the objective of contributing to the improvement of their conditions of life. (p. 66)

The curricular redefinition of primary education for adults is now under way, and the related instructional materials are being developed with local adaptations receiving particular attention.

Community Education

INEA launched two other programs at the national level: Cultural Promotion and For-the-Job Training. In 1985, these two programs were merged into one, now called Community Education. This program seeks to transmit knowledge and abilities that in themselves have an immediate usefulness and are not bound by a formal curricular sequence. It is conceived as a form of group education and favors collective work. The target population is those over the age of 15 from marginal sectors of the population. Priority attention is given to rural communities with between 500 and 2,500 inhabitants, as well as to marginal districts in urban areas (INEA, n.d., p. 121).

To date, the Community Education Program has taken the following forms.

Culture halls. The halls are directed toward rural populations. At the end of 1986, 200 halls were in existence throughout the country.

Meeting points. These are designed for the inhabitants of marginal urban districts. There are 33 of these centers.

Education and recreation camps. This activity is available in temporary population concentrations of more than 100 migrant workers where the working season is three months or over. In 1986, 10 camps were in operation.

Popular theater. The theater is coordinated by a "drama guide" for six months. During this period, the guide prepares one of the members of the group to carry on the activities. Fifteen of these groups are now functioning.

Community workshops. These are directed toward rural communities. They consist of an appropriate physical space and a package of multiple-use tools and simple machinery for the production of goods and services. There are 29 workshops in operation.

Productive units. Both rural and urban marginal populations are served by these units. There were 46 of them in operation at the end of 1986.

Training for the creation of employment opportunities. These are short courses designed with the aim of creating stable occupations to help solve some of the economic problems of the communities. Between January and October 1986, 4,750 courses were given (INEA, 1987a, pp. 123-170).

The Community Education Program is now being reviewed and revised. The aim is to design a unitary model for the training of educational agents, as well as to initiate four large new projects: health education, family education, history and culture of the community, and civic education.

Job Skills Training

Job skills training was initiated during the Lázaro Cárdenas regime (1934-1940). The technical training of workers and peasants was oriented toward making them capable of assuming the administration of collective productive units, like the *ejido* and other cooperative enterprises. Later regimes

viewed training as an instrument for productive work. The private sector was called on to suggest the number and characteristics of the working force that state institutions should train. Hence, between 1940 and 1958, many of the institutions for technical education created by Cárdenas disappeared and private institutions were established. In spite of this transformation, and in spite of the fact that both the State and society considered the industrialization process as a high priority, technological education was not an important aspect of educational policy. Consequently, a gap between what modern industry needed in a skilled labor force and what the educational sector was offering was created during these years (Solórzano & Christian, 1986, p. 211).

After 1958, technological education received much more systematic and visible support. However, it not receive the social acceptance that was expected from the student population or from employers. University education continued to represent the best alternative for gaining employment (Solórzano & Christian, 1986, p. 212).

Job training for the marginal population started in 1976. It stemmed from recognition of the alarming growth of unemployment and underemployment rates, both in the urban and in the rural areas. Despite this, the most important institutions dedicated to for-the-job training continued to function as part of the national educational system, and on-the-job training became a responsibility of private and public enterprises, which limited their activity to training their own employed labor force.

During this century, the labor force in Mexico has multiplied five times. However, a decreasing proportion of the population is being incorporated into the active working population signaling important changes in sectorial composition. In 1930, the agricultural sector represented 70% of total employment but now is reduced to 35%. The service sector grew from 15% to 40% during this same period and the industrial sector grew from 14% to 25%. The service sector has been absorbing 50% of the new jobs that are being created, with the industrial sector responsible for 30% of total job creation. Nevertheless, this rate of growth has always been below the urban growth rate and thus has contributed to the increase in the service sector, mainly through the creation of low-productivity occupations considered part of the marginal or informal economy. This has led to the development of segmented labor markets and to a marked differentiation in the structure of production.

The economic crisis that hit the country in 1982 has aggravated many of these problems: many workers have been fired, a number of industry or business establishments have been closed, and economic activity has stopped in certain sectors. This is reflected in an increase of the (overt) unemployment rates and especially in underemployment rates. To reverse this situation, structural changes are required.

President de la Madrid's administration established four main strategies for training:

1. Changes in the juridical framework of job training. This strategy includes the possibility of modifying the Federal Labor Laws with the ob-

ject of creating a legal framework for training those who belong to the informal sector of the economy.

2. The reformulation of financing mechanisms for the support of training programs. These programs should be financed by productive units and regulated by the State. Regional decentralization of training opportunities is also a priority.
3. The linking of scientific and technological development to training procedures.
4. The coordination of training activities between the public, private and social sectors, as well as the inclusion of organizational and administration elements from productive units. The extension of training services to the urban, informal sector workers and to the traditional rural workers is also necessary (Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social, 1985, p. 19).

Training in Mexico may be divided into for-the-job training and on-the-job training. The first mode of training is subdivided into formal and non-formal education. Formal education for-the-job training is the responsibility of the National Educational System, and specifically of the National Technological Educational System. This latter system is oriented toward offering individuals general information that may increase their capacity for scientific and technological adaptability and for either continuing their education to higher levels or entering the labor market through terminal options. Its focus is on students at the secondary, university, and postgraduate levels. At the basic level (after primary education), the only options are the Job Training Centers and the Skill Training Centers, which train qualified workers. At the secondary level (junior high school), the system offers general education and terminal options in agriculture, industry, fishing, and services. At the senior high school level, there are schools that offer both the possibility of continuing to higher levels of education and terminal options, as well as schools that offer only terminal options (CONALEP). It is interesting to note that this latter mode of technological education has grown considerably during the past few years. Registration in CONALEPs has evolved from 3,900 students in 1979-80, to 19,087 in 1980-81, to 72,847 in 1982-83 (Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social, 1985, pp. 65-77).

Nonformal, for-the-job training programs are designated for the population that has no access to the higher levels of the formal educational system. These programs are much shorter than the formal ones and are not always carried out in classroom settings. Among the institutions and services involved are:

The Mexican Institute for Social Security. Its training programs are designed for the marginal classes of the country. There are 108 units with 336 workshops and 356 full-time instructors. Recently it has oriented its courses toward training for self-employment. It offers 27 courses in industrial and service training, four in crafts, and three on income protection. The admission requirements are being older than 13 years of age and being literate and competent in the four arithmetic operations. Courses last three months and classes are held daily under a six-hour schedule.

The National System for the Integral Development of the Family. This program operates autonomously in each one of the states of the country. In the Federal District, there are 23 Community Development Centers and 13 Urban Social Welfare Centers. These trained 8,000 persons in 1984 in fields such as sewing, secretarial skills, and beauty sciences. Some courses are offered in auto mechanics, carpentry, and industrial sewing, but without workshops.

The Ministry of Fishing. It offers training for fishing workers. In 1983, 3,800 adult students participated.

Scholarships for the Training for Workers. This service is coordinated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. The objective is to incorporate workers who have lost their jobs due to the economic crisis into a system of training based on scholarships. The Ministry directs individuals to various existing training programs and pays them a minimum salary for the duration of the course. In 1984, this program offered 55,800 scholarships and channeled adult students to 1,860 courses (Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social, 1985, pp. 81-84).

On-the-job training programs are the responsibility of the productive units and are simply coordinated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. However, only about 50% of the workers in the formal sector of the economy have access to these training programs which are concentrated in Mexico City in the larger industries, and in the modern sector of the economy. On-the-job training is not being carried out in medium and small-scale industries. They possess neither the infrastructure nor the financial resources to systematically develop such programs, or to seek the professional training services of outside institutions.

In 1985 INEA conducted a study to determine the national supply of training courses for the informal sector of the economy (INEA, 1985). The study revealed that in total 156 different institutions offer this type of training in 26 states of the country, 90% of which are in the public sector. Only 3% belong to the private and social sectors respectively. Moreover, among the courses given, only 40% offer for-the-job training. The remainder were for family welfare (40%), for recreation (9%), and for civic and political participation (11%). These courses have directly benefited 1,280,407 individuals in 421 localities.

Overall, there is little doubt that Mexico has developed a set of policies that has permitted significant advances in the quantitative struggle against illiteracy. However, the exaggerated emphasis on numbers has left unaddressed the quality of the service and the continuity of the results. The focus on literacy has perhaps downgraded the importance and the outcomes of both Basic Education and Community Education. The first of these programs, after strong self-criticism, has redefined its activities in form and content. The second program, which is of the utmost importance for the marginal population because it is preparation for economic activities, has yet to demonstrate its value or admit its shortcomings and subsequently propose alternatives. Other programs are just beginning to effectively reach

marginal populations and these are not being focused on job-attainment but on self-employment or family and community welfare.

Despite the current economic crisis, Mexico has been able to take huge steps toward eliminating illiteracy. Unfortunately, few actions are being undertaken to consolidate that which has already been achieved and to improve other areas of similar importance in adult education—notably skill upgrading programs or job-training programs.

Learning from the Mexican Experience

In retrospect, there appear to be at least seven lessons to be learned from the Mexican experience in adult education.

1. The educational attention to marginal populations has experienced its most spectacular advances when specialized financial and human resources have been assigned to this purpose.
2. Educational attention to marginal populations has resulted in important steps forward when vertical planning and uniformizing systems have been abandoned. The fact that for the first time in our history we are reaching marginal populations with educational services has taught us the need for “adapting” the service to the characteristics of the population being attended to. This has implied the reversal of ordinary patterns of educational planning where it is expected that the individuals and the learning groups must adapt themselves to the characteristics of the service being offered.
3. Closely related to the previous point is the need to link the planning process with the regional and local realities as well as to the particular characteristics of specific population groups with whom educational activities will be carried out.
4. Gains in basic education and literacy training by marginal populations should not lead to the discontinuation of the programs responsible for them. It is necessary to sustain the impulse that gave rise to this achievement in order to ensure its permanence. For example, it would be a great mistake to end the literacy program once the residual illiteracy rate is achieved.
5. The attainment of important quantitative goals with marginal populations implies heavy expenses, sustained efforts, and administrative and curricular innovations. Improving the quality of the education is much more difficult than what was originally expected. This is now the country’s greatest challenge, especially among marginal populations. If the quality of education is not improved, the system will continue to produce absolute and functional illiterates, and educational inequality will continue to characterize the social and political structure. The State should decide on a policy that initiates the struggle for educational quality directly with marginal populations.
6. Despite the achievements with marginal populations, there remain discrepancies and disparities in the services provided. For example, the very small and poor rural communities have to pay for the construction and maintenance of their school building, and in some cases for the food

and lodging of the teacher as long as he or she remains in the community (Schmelkes, 1983, pp. 9-47). Small communities and Indian populations are assigned human and physical resources that are inferior to those assigned on average to the educational system. Marginalized populations are still the last to be educationally served. The adult literacy program, for example, is just considering the possibility of offering specialized services to a part of the Indian population and no program for migrant populations has yet been designed. A comprehensive policy for marginal populations should not only consciously avoid these clearly unjust treatments, but it should also assign the best resources—especially human resources—to these populations.

7. The greatest challenge facing adult education arises from the growing isolation of the educational process from the broader social and economic processes in the country. This phenomenon helps to explain the difficulties that adult education programs are facing in adjusting the supply of services to that which the adult population requires; in avoiding high drop-out rates from adult education programs; and in insuring the usefulness and relevance of the educational results of these programs (Schmelkes, 1986, pp. 2-7).

Conclusion

There are three main approaches to adult education: (a) that which stems from the practice of adult education in First World countries, (b) that which is designed "for" the Third World, and (c) that which is being drawn up "from" Third World countries.

In the first approach we discover the theoretical basis for lifelong education that is an education prolonged from the moment the individual abandons formal schooling until the end of his life. The aim of lifelong education is to assure every person an active political, economic, and social life in a society that functions "properly."

The second approach which is designed "for" the Third World has experienced a historical evolution—from the optimistic conception of adult education, in the sense that it is capable of eliminating ignorance and therefore poverty, to the skeptical conception that leads to the assumption that adult education is useful only in contexts that are undergoing important transformations. In either case, however, adult education is understood as a service offered by the State whose function is to ensure that the entire population has access to the basic culture of the nation.

The third approach stemming from adult educational praxis in Latin America has also suffered a historical evolution—from a conception that prioritizes the transformation of consciousness (awareness) to one that understands adult education, as popular education, to be an instrument that supports transformation processes and responds to the interests of the popular sectors of the population. Contrary to the other two approaches, this one does not define the beneficiary as someone who lacks knowledge and abilities. It understands "the social group" as lacking the instruments that may help them socially defend their interests. From this third approach, two main assumptions have been derived. The first emphasizes

literacy training and basic education for adults that cannot be conceived of as ends in themselves. The second assumption asserts that illiteracy and the lack of schooling among adults must be considered and understood as an integral part of structural poverty. So conceived, there is little sense in attacking only one of the factors that comprise structural poverty, if what is being sought is to achieve an impact on the whole society.

The action of the State in adult education in Mexico is congruent with the second of these approaches. Undoubtedly, it will continue in this direction. This will allow the system to improve program content, adjust and rationalize its methodology, and solve its administrative problems. The natural growth of schooling will lead in a not-too-distant future to the design of forms of postliteracy training and lifelong education options. Ways will likely be found to decrease drop-out rates and to maintain adult interest in the programs. Thus there will be a statistical decrease in the illiteracy rates and an increase in the number of adults with a basic education certificate.

However, we may ask if following this direction means that the system will continue to have a negligible impact on the substantial problems of its target population. Present adult education efforts are concentrating on peripheral needs, not on the most important ones. To continue with this approach implies that adult education will be an isolated educational activity; knowledge is transferred, special abilities are transmitted, and, optimistically, instruments are offered that allow adults to individually improve their living conditions.

The alternative implies recognizing that if adult education were willing to abandon its narrow disciplinary view, it could become a vital starting point for attending to the needs of the marginal populations. This would be a qualitative leap in the State's dominant conception of adult education. The precedent is found in the third approach to adult education mentioned above. Herein the system would seek to support learning processes that are oriented toward the transformation of the objective social conditions that comprise the most pressing needs of the target population. Adult education would work with *subjective* conditions which experience with popular education shows energizes and reinforces these processes. Within this alternative viewpoint, it is clear that the definition of the processes of change in *objective* conditions must be defined by the specific population with whom one is working. It is also clear that the decision regarding the types of changes to be fostered is not found only within the sphere of decision making of adult education institutions. The communities should fully participate and take control of the process.

The activities carried out by many popular education groups in Latin America have shown that this is the approach that places educational activity in its just dimension and that yields the greatest benefits for the population being attended to. The near future of adult education, in the hands of the State, will have to decide between the following options: Will it continue to simply administer a service, or will it effectively contribute to

the solution of the problems experienced by the target population in the country?

Notes

1. The literacy method used by INEA is that of the "generative word," based on Paulo Freire's literacy method for conscientization. For a description of the method see La Belle (1986) and Zachariah (1986).
2. Estimates based on data provided by INEA.

References

- Instituto Nacional para la Educación de los Adultos. (n.d.). *Programa de educación comunitaria*. Mexico: Author.
- Instituto Nacional para la Educación de los Adultos. (1985). *Estudio sobre la oferta de capacitación para la población ubicada en el sector informal de la economía*. Mexico: Author.
- Instituto Nacional para la Educación de los Adultos. (1986). *Educación básica*. Tomos I y II. Mexico: Author.
- Instituto Nacional para la Educación de los Adultos. (1987a). *Plan de acción del programa de alfabetización para 1987*. Mexico: Author.
- Instituto Nacional para la Educación de los Adultos. (1987b, enero). *Gaceta estadística*, No. 5. Mexico: Author.
- Juárez, I. (1986). *Estudio regional sobre los cortadores de caña del bajo Veracruz*. Mexico: UNAM.
- La Belle, T.J. (1986). *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, reform or revolution?* New York: Praeger.
- Poder Ejecutivo Federal. (1984). *Programa nacional de educación, cultura, recreación y deporte 1984-1988*. Mexico: Author.
- Poder Legislativo Federal. (1975). *Ley nacional de educación de adultos*. Mexico: Author.
- Schmelkes, S. (1983). La Participación de la comunidad en el gasto educativo. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos*, 8(1).
- Schmelkes, S. (1986). *Educación de adultos, alfabetización y empleo en México*. Ponencia presentada al Coloquio sobre el Estado Actual de la Educación en México. Mexico: Centro de Estudios Educativos.
- Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social. (1985). *Oferta y necesidades de capacitación 1985-1988: Técnicos, operarios calificados y semicalificados*. Mexico: Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social.
- Solórzano, G., & Christian, M. (1986). *Un análisis histórico de la educación tecnológica en México (1934-1982)*. Tesis para optar por el título de licenciado en Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública. Mexico: UNAM.
- Zachariah, M. (1986). *Revolution through reform: A comparison of Sarvodaya and conscientization*. New York: Praeger.

SULEMAN SUMRA

and

YOSIAH BWATWA

University of Dar es Salaam

Adult Education, Literacy Training, and Skill Upgrading in Tanzania

Tanzanian efforts at reducing illiteracy in the country have been impressive. The authors trace the developments that facilitated this achievement, and describe the goals sought and the means employed. Certain shortcomings in the approach to adult education are also identified.

Adult education in Tanzania is not a postcolonial phenomenon. Some attempts at providing education to selected groups of people were made during the colonial period; however, the mass approach through literacy campaigns on a broad scale was solely a postcolonial initiative.

Historical Background

In 1946, the colonial authorities, as part of a community development program, initiated a literacy program for ex-army people residing in welfare centers located in urban areas. In 1949 literacy programs were also started for youth clubs, again mostly in urban areas. The smallness of the effort can be gauged from the fact that the management of all national adult education activities was in the hands of one European welfare officer assisted by two Africans. They were aided by a Women's Service League that was responsible for the education of women. The League organized classes in sewing, knitting, child welfare, and domestic science. Consequently, adult education in general and literacy in particular were piecemeal and localized.

Colonial authorities paid more attention to skills upgrading than they did to literacy. Training in trades and crafts was started by the Germans and was continued by the British colonists. The trainees had to have a minimum of six years of education for admission which meant that such training was restricted to primary school leavers. Government schools were used for courses such as printing, carpentry, tailoring, and wood and metal work. The Post and Telegraph Department and the Land and Mines Department took in apprentices to learn skills appropriate to those services (Buell, 1965, p. 17). The aim of these endeavors by colonial authorities was to obtain junior personnel to help the colonial economy function.

Dr. Sumra is a senior reader specializing in the economics of education, and Dr. Bwatwa is a professor of adult education.

After independence in 1961, a subsequent reorganization of the government resulted in the appointment of more community development workers to carry out adult education in rural areas. The First Five Year Plan (1964-1969) called for a reduction in illiteracy in order to increase production and led to an intensification of adult education activities. However, the greatest impetus to adult education came in 1967 with the publication of the Arusha Declaration (Nyerere, 1967) as a blueprint for the socialist transformation of the country. It was realized that in order to involve the masses in socialist transformation, the masses had to understand and implement the national policy. Thus a literate population was required.

The first major effort in adult education was the UNESCO/UNDP Work-Oriented Literacy Pilot Project. The project was started in 1968 in the four rural regions bordering Lake Victoria: West Lake, Mwanza, Shinyanga, and Mara. The aims of the project were to stimulate (a) higher production of important cash crops; (b) increased political consciousness and public participation; and (c) improved nutrition. The goal was to reduce the illiteracy rate from 85% to 40% in the four regions by the end of 1973.

This goal was not achieved for several reasons. The project encountered problems of distance as scattered settlements affected regular attendance at central locations. There were also difficulties with transportation and communication which impeded the coordination and follow-up work. Most of the teachers were barely literate, and there was a serious shortage of books and teaching materials.

The turning point in Tanzania's approach to adult education occurred in 1971. In his new year message to the nation, President Julius Nyerere called on the nation to speed up the pace of its literacy campaign. He specifically identified six districts where illiteracy was to be eliminated by the end of 1971. Adult education then focused on literacy training with astonishing results. For instance, Mafia Island had an adult population of 10,000, of which 8,500 were illiterates in February 1971. By the end of March, all the illiterates were enrolled in adult education classes, and by the end of the year the Island had achieved 100% literacy. Similar results were achieved in all the other districts except Dar es Salaam. In Dar es Salaam, the campaign faced problems of organization, coordination, and motivation of the learners.

Efforts were also made in other districts of the country to eliminate illiteracy. Between 1970 and 1971, the teaching force engaged in adult education rose sharply from 1,900 in 1970 to 53,000 in 1971. Secondary school pupils, primary school teachers, and soldiers constituted the bulk of the teaching force.

The mass literacy campaign expanded in all regions between 1972 and 1975 and aimed at eradicating illiteracy by 1975. The success of the campaign was evaluated by administering a national literacy test. When the campaign was launched in 1970, the illiteracy rate was estimated at 67% of the population of 13 million. The results of the National Literacy Test conducted in 1975 revealed a drop in illiteracy to 39%.

Goals of Adult Education

The current goals of adult education in Tanzania are outlined in two documents. The Second Five Year Plan (1969-1974) states the goals of adult education in the following terms: (a) the main purpose and emphasis in adult education will be on rural development; (b) it will include simple training in agricultural techniques and craftsmanship, health education, housecraft, simple economics and accounting, political education, and citizen responsibility; and (c) literacy will be included in response to popular demand as people are aware of its functional importance.

The broad objectives of adult education are defined by the Ministry of Education as: (a) to shake off resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past; (b) to teach people how to improve their lives; and (c) to have all citizens in Tanzania understand the national policies of socialism and self-reliance.

According to Mpogolo (1986), the specific purposes of postliteracy adult education are:

1. to ensure retention of attained literacy capability so that the neo-literates do not relapse into illiteracy;
2. to create literacy environments in the rural areas through a network of rural libraries, rural newspapers, folk development colleges, correspondence education, radio programs, cinemas, and mass campaigns on major bottlenecks in rural development;
3. to provide an alternative system of education for the educational advancement of primary and secondary school dropouts and the whole adult population;
4. to enable adults to broaden their knowledge of the official and national language and of English as the second official language, and to improve their oral and written ability in these languages;
5. to provide national political education to adults;
6. to improve the knowledge and skills of adults in such fields as agriculture, handicrafts, home economics, health, and water supply;
7. to give adults an understanding of simple national economics and economic geography;
8. to give adults useful mathematical knowledge for their daily activities;
9. to develop democratic and cooperative knowledge and skills among adults;
10. to increase the knowledge of Tanzanian and African history and culture and to promote active involvement in cultural activities;
11. to help adults develop leadership skills and attitudes;
12. to achieve a wider understanding of the world and increase the ability to participate in international activities. (pp. 117-118)

Administrative Structure

In 1969, the Ministry of Education became responsible for adult education in the country. It devised a three-pronged strategy for implementing the national adult education policy: (a) every primary school in the country was to be used as an adult learning center; (b) teachers and students of secondary schools, colleges, the university, and other institutions of higher learning

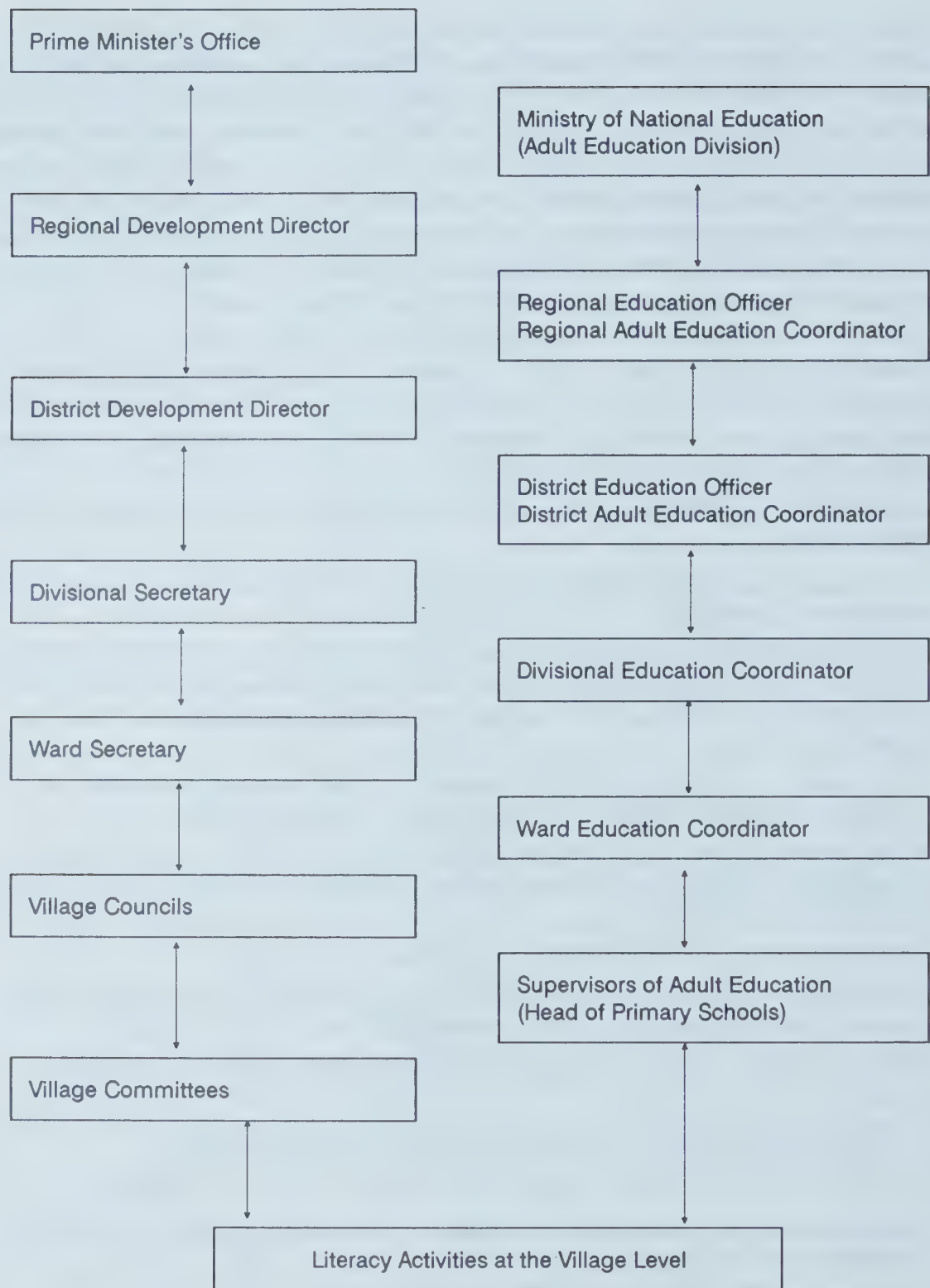


Figure 1: Administrative structure of adult education in the United Republic of Tanzania

were to act as teachers; (c) the Institute of Adult Education, Kivukoni College, Colleges of Education, and the University were to train adult educators.

The administration of adult education was undertaken at both the national and regional levels as depicted in Figure 1. This structure is sup-

ported and aided by a variety of national, regional, and district advisory committees.

Adult Education Programs

Six major programs are offered to adult learners.

Literacy Classes

The most widespread adult education activities are the literacy classes. Every primary and secondary school in the country acts as an adult education center where teachers from the school conduct literacy classes. The extent to which illiteracy has been eradicated is assessed by means of a periodic National Literacy Test.

These tests are conducted periodically, and were conducted in 1975, 1977, 1981, 1983, and 1986. Achievement is measured according to defined levels.

Level I: A participant who has enrolled and has attended two thirds of the literacy sessions in any one year of literacy activities.

Level II: A participant who qualifies for Level I above, and who also has successfully passed one or both tests for the following sublevels:

Sublevel (i): A person who is able to recognize words and symbols, write letters, syllables, numbers, and arithmetic signs, and do some mental arithmetic.

Sublevel (ii): A person who is able to read short, simple, meaningful sentences, is able to write simple short sentences, and is able to add and subtract one figure sums.

Level III: A participant who qualifies for Level II above, and who also has successfully passed one or both tests for the following sublevels:

Sublevel (i): A person who is able to read short, simple, meaningful sentences and can add and subtract two figure sums.

Sublevel (ii): A person who possesses mastery over symbols in their written form or is able to write and read messages. Such a person should be able to perform the following: fluently read a simple text with understanding; write a simple, short message or passage; add and subtract three-figure sums; multiply two-figure sums; and divide by one figure.

Level IV: A person who continuously uses the acquired literacy skills. Such a person should have qualified for Level III above and also should be able to read and write messages; read newspapers; keep up with current happenings and obtain information; read *How to do it yourself* books or short books on better living, food, ways of farming, and so forth; keep records; and solve simple arithmetic problems. He or she should also be able to keep a simple book of accounts on income and expenditure.

Participants who achieve Levels III and IV in the National Literacy Tests are considered to be literate, and they proceed to postliteracy classes. Those who do not achieve these levels continue attending literacy classes until the next testing period. These tests have revealed that illiteracy rates in the country as shown on Table 1 have dropped from 69% in 1967 to 9.6% in 1986.

TABLE 1
Literacy Rates in Tanzania 1967-1986

Year	Percentage of Illiterates		
	Male	Female	Total
1967	56	80	69
1975	34	44	39
1977	21	33	27
1981	15	27	21
1983	10	21	15
1986	7.1	12	9.6

Table 2 indicates the number of people sitting for the National Literacy Tests and those achieving Levels III and IV to be considered literate.

The proportion of women sitting for the Test and attending literacy classes is higher than for men, and this proportion is increasing. The data indicate, however, that the proportion of men graduating from the literacy classes and reaching Levels III and IV is always higher than for women.

Apart from the gender differences that exist in the illiteracy rates, there are regional differences as well. On the whole, illiteracy rates are lower in the coastal and richer inland areas and higher in the poor inland areas. Despite the regional differences in the rates of illiteracy, nearly two thirds of the illiterates in all the regions are females.

Those completing Levels III and IV advance to postliteracy classes. These classes are held in the same centers where literacy classes are held, that is, in primary and secondary schools, and they are conducted by the teachers therein.

Folk Development Colleges (FDCs)

The Folk Development Colleges Program was launched in 1975. It is intended to give graduates of literacy classes the opportunity to acquire further knowledge and skills. The colleges, which were modeled on the Swedish Folk High Schools, offer courses for village leaders (chairpersons, secretaries, bookkeepers, and village shop managers); leaders of women's organizations, household activities, and small scale industries; various groups engaged in implementing various self-reliance projects; and assistant field officers.

In practice, most of the students attending FDCs are those who have reached literacy skill Level IV and those who have completed seven years of primary education. Village leaders are responsible for the selection of the students. Two types of courses are offered. Core courses include agriculture,

TABLE 2
National Literacy Test Results

Adults Tested							
Year	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1975	3,806,468	1,738,406	2,066,062	1,403,985	722,947	681,947	2,400,483
1977	2,316,154	1,036,759	1,279,395	806,421	453,951	352,470	1,509,733
1981	3,107,506	1,230,832	1,876,674	912,576	412,576	491,340	2,194,930
1983	2,168,113	810,598	1,351,515	679,508	309,094	370,414	1,482,605
1986	2,059,359	7,744,496	1,284,863	1,143,076	465,737	677,399	916,283

technical education, domestic science, and accountancy. Optional courses include political education, economics, culture, and philosophy of adult education. Length of courses vary between those less than six months to those nine months or longer. By 1986, there were 24,186 students enrolled in 52 FDCs staffed by 420 tutors, half of whom had some teacher training.

Swedish interest in the development and operation of the FDCs has been high. The initial planning was assisted by consultants from Sweden, and in the early stages tutors were provided. Sweden has also been providing funds to run these colleges. In 1975-1976 its contribution was four times that of the Tanzanian government, whereas in 1985-1986 it was only one sixth of the Tanzanian provision.

Correspondence Education

Two institutions in the country offer correspondence education. One is the National Correspondence Institute (NCI), a department within the Institute of Adult Education based in Dar es Salaam with branches in all the regions of the country. NCI offers courses in four areas: mass education; secondary education; professional studies including teacher training, management, and administration; and a special program for disabled students. Mass education, which includes primary education, is open to those who have achieved literary skill Level IV. Other courses are offered to those who have completed primary or higher education. Enrollments peaked at about 7,000 in the mid-1970s and are now around 2,500. Far fewer women than men have enrolled in correspondence classes, and most of those enrolled are from urban areas and have completed primary education.

The other institution responsible for correspondence education is the Cooperative Education Center (CEC), a sister institution of the Cooperative College Moshi. The CEC was established in 1964 to carry out cooperative field extension education for the staff and members of the cooperative movement. The CEC conducts both residential and nonresidential courses. The nonresidential courses include the following types of correspondence courses: (a) leadership and supervision for Primary Cooperative Societies (both English and Kiswahili); (b) elementary bookkeeping (English and Kiswahili); (c) duties of the Committee (Kiswahili); (d) bookkeeping of Consumer Cooperative Society (English and Kiswahili); and (e) basic economy (Kiswahili). There are no courses on the politics of the cooperative movement. Courses offered concentrate on improving the organization of the cooperatives and increasing the output from the agricultural sector.

National Educational Campaigns

Over the years, the Institute of Adult Education, in collaboration with other government departments, has carried out nationwide campaigns through mass media, seminars, and workshops on specific issues. Among these campaigns were *To Plan is to Choose* (1969) aimed at informing citizens about the importance of the Second Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974); *The Choice is Yours* (1970) stressing the meaning, importance, and procedures of the forthcoming election; *Man is Health* (1973) designed to improve the health of Tanzanians by explaining the symptoms of prevalent

diseases and ways of preventing them. Each of these campaigns made extensive use of radio programs and study groups. Other campaigns included Time of Rejoicing (1971) on celebrating 10 years of independence; Food is Life (1975) on the importance of a balanced diet; and Forest is Wealth (1981) on the significance of preserving forests.

Programs for Women

The Institute of Education has a section that deals with issues that specifically concern women. It initiates and supports projects and produces reading materials for the newly-literate women. Typical of the pamphlets produced are those entitled *Sewing Techniques*, *Rights of Women*, *Women's Voice*, and *Manual for Milling Machine*. The section also holds seminars and workshops for women in collaboration with other relevant organizations. The section is funded mainly by a donation from the Norwegian Aid Agency (NORAD).

Workers' Education

In 1973, the Prime Minister's Office issued a directive calling on all factories, government offices, and parastatal institutions to establish programs in workers' education. Most complied and now offer a variety of programs including literacy and postliteracy classes.

Conclusion

Tanzania has shown that, given a committed leadership, a country with limited resources can mount and sustain socially significant projects. The Tanzanian experience also reveals certain shortcomings.

Tanzania's commitment to eliminating illiteracy was part of a policy first initiated in 1967 with the goal of transforming Tanzania into a socialist society. It was realized that to facilitate a socialist transformation, a literate and committed population that understood the party policies was essential. Education aimed at creating a new person and ensuring popular participation in the transformation efforts. As such, adult education was seen as a political activity. However, this essentially political activity was given to the Ministry of Education to be implemented. Ministries operate bureaucratically, and often the implementation of adult education has taken on a bureaucratic form. The adult education programs have been implemented through top down decision making. Decisions on how and what to teach are made centrally by the directorate of adult education in the Ministry of Education. This has precluded the involvement of the general population from determining their needs and how best to meet them. Bureaucratic implementation has stripped the programs of much of their political content and hence their effectiveness.

Analysis of the content in the adult education program reveals that it is geared more toward improving the production of export crops than toward making adults socially and politically conscious.

Making adult education a responsibility of the Ministry of Education had another effect. The Ministry has used its facilities and personnel to implement these programs. For literacy classes it has meant using primary

schools and primary school teachers. These teachers have been trained to teach primary school pupils; they have had no training in teaching adults. As a result, they basically use the same methods for teaching adults as they do for teaching primary school pupils. They also implement functional literacy programs. Thus a teacher who has never been a farmer has the responsibility of teaching a farmer how to grow cotton better. This creates problems as the language, interests, and cultures of these two groups differ and result in teaching functional literacy as if it were another classroom subject. Functional literacy should be implemented by those who are successful and have expertise in the particular production activity. Primary school teachers cannot be expected to be experts in agriculture, health, commerce, and so on.

Similarly, the National Literacy Test evaluates the reading and writing skills of individuals. The application of the skills learned on farms or in workshops is not able to be evaluated, and hence a different system of evaluation is needed for functional literacy programs.

During the planning of the adult education program, Folk Development Colleges were seen as institutions where newly literate adults could upgrade their skills. In reality, however, these colleges have been one more avenue for primary school leavers to pursue further education. This leaves few avenues for graduates of literacy classes to pursue further education.

Despite the problems discussed above, Tanzanian efforts at educating its adults and eradicating illiteracy have been commendable. It is one of the few countries in the Third World that has managed to reduce the illiteracy rates so significantly. Tanzania has kept a commitment, based on political will, to develop adult education in the context of socialist transformation.

References

- Buell, R.L. (1965). *The native problem in Africa*. Handeni: Anchor Books.
- Mpogolo, Z.J. (1986). Strategies and techniques adopted: The Tanzanian approach towards post-literacy. In J. Muller (Ed.), *Learning strategies for post-literacy: The Tanzania approach* (pp. 103-166). Bonn: German Foundation for International Development.
- Nyerere, J.K. (1967). *Arusha Declaration*. London: Oxford University Press.

CARLOS A. TORRES

University of Alberta

An Analytical Framework for Adult Education in Alberta¹

Little theorizing about adult education is apparent in Canada. This article proposes a modest theoretical framework for a sociology of adult education in Alberta including a discussion of the state, social reproduction, and elements of the political economy. Academic and skill upgrading programs in the province are briefly described, and a research prospectus inspired by critical theory is suggested.

The objective of this article is twofold. The first part provides a sociological framework for the study of adult education. A focus on the relationships between adult education and the state administered reproduction of social relations is provided including some comments on policy rationales. At a theoretical level, some concepts from the political economy of schooling are applied to aid understanding of the relationships between adult education and capital accumulation in industrial societies. The second part identifies the policy orientation of adult education programs and services in Alberta.² A brief description of academic and skill training activities is given. Finally, by way of conclusion, a short comment about a research prospectus is included.

Fundamentals for a Framework

Three main sociological themes are often related to the discussion of education's role in capitalist societies: social order, social control, and social reproduction. For social theory, the explanation of order and cohesion in a society is a fundamental concern.³ Three approaches have been identified: the utilitarian approach, the cultural approach, and the compulsion approach. From the perspective of utilitarianism, it is the self-interest of individuals, particularly in complex societies with highly sophisticated division of labor, that accounts for the maintenance of order and control. From the perspective of the cultural approach, the role of shared values and norms is emphasized in building and sustaining societal consensus as a prerequisite to achieve stability and social order in industrial societies. Finally, the compulsion approach emphasizes the issues of power and domination as the central concepts in explaining the constitution and reproduction of societies, as well as the capacity of the ruling classes or groups in achieving or enforcing the social order and establishing a consistent network of social control (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1986, p. 197).

A basic trait in contemporary social research is the analysis of education as part of the state administered reproduction of fundamental social rela-

Dr. Torres is an assistant professor with the Department of Educational Foundations.

tions (Broady, 1981; Torres, in press). As I have discussed elsewhere, the notion of social reproduction (a) presupposes theories of society as a complex totality which develops through contradictions; (b) takes relatively complex societies as its object of inquiry within which formal and specialized educational institutions play a significant role; (c) argues that these educational institutions constitute strategic sites for the stability and further development of these societies; (d) studies the relations of mutual interaction between these institutions and the larger society which provide the basis for sociologies of education; (e) suggests that policy formulation with the educational sphere constitutes a crucial context of negotiation and struggle which may have decisive effects on the capacity of society to maintain or transform itself, hence educational settings are a microscopic representation of the larger macroscopic societal dynamics; and (f) paradoxically, education is considered either a powerful tool for socialization into a given social order, or a challenge and resistance of a hegemonic culture or social practice. In short, theories of social reproduction in education are linked with power, race, gender, class, knowledge, and the moral bases of cultural production and acquisition (Morrow & Torres, 1988).

Although "the majority of sociologists argue that social control is achieved through a combination of compliance, coercion and commitment to social values" (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1986, p. 195), the compulsion approach to social reproduction has received the most attention. Baldus (1977) has identified three basic assumptions underlying the approach. The first is

that a class structure exists in capitalist societies which is based on the private ownership of productive capital, and that the accumulation of capital is the highest-order objective of the capital-owning class in such societies.... The interest of these groups in maintaining and expanding their property base and in maximizing their profits affects, directly or indirectly, virtually every member of capitalist societies. (p. 249)

The second assumption is that "the pursuit of dominant class objectives in any social system requires measures to manage and reduce complexity, both with respect to the choices of objectives, and with respect to the selection of means under a given objective" (p. 250). The reduction of complexity is

an essential element of the process by which a dominant class maintains social control over a periphery.... Here, complexity can become a problem either because the means requirements themselves become increasingly numerous and differentiated, or because the periphery as an environment from which means are selected becomes increasingly diverse. A growth in the complexity of means requirements or means environment, or both, makes the task of connecting dominant class interests and the periphery behaviour which is needed to realise these interests more difficult. Finding a way of reducing this complexity can become crucial for the survival of a dominant class. (p. 250)

Baldus' third assumption is that social control can be designed either by a strategy of *interventive control* which "comprises all efforts by the dominant class or by institutions acting on its behalf to create needed periphery behaviour through the use of persuasion or coercion," and/or by resorting to *complementary peripheral behavior strategies* using the "al-

ready existing conditions in the periphery which are not the intended result of a prior control initiative by the dominant class, but are complementary to its interests" (p. 250).

This is not the place to criticize the main assumptions of Baldus' (1977) strategy of analysis which mirrors a particular type of class perspective with functionalist overtones.⁴ However, to clarify subsequent discussion, three critical comments are in order. First, the simplistic distinction between a ruling class (elite) and a periphery (the rest of us) may not hold true when analyzing the class structure and the political behavior of groups and classes in capitalist societies. Second, the notion of a unified ruling elite overlooks the fact that there are documented clashes and contradictions between ruling classes in each society due to their regional locations (i.e., East versus West in Canadian politics), their distinct factional ideologies or political affiliations (i.e., Conservatives versus Liberals), or their different and sometimes opposing economic interest (i.e., the military-industrial complex in advanced capitalism versus other lobbies). Third, according to Baldus, the strategy of interventive control is essentially executed by the capitalist state which intervenes actively in establishing the patterns of social control. Even when the "choice of control strategies shifts increasingly from the use of interventive control to the systematic use of complementary periphery behavior" (p. 255), it is the state administering interventive control, or the massive intervention of multinational corporations in politics, that represent forms of intervention of the capitalist dominant classes. Hence the state is mostly the representative of a given class, and most of its interventions will be conducted on behalf of this class and will have purposes of social control. At this point, Baldus' use of the notion of social control becomes mechanistic and eventually conspiratory. The state loses its complexity, becoming a ruling machinery on behalf of a given class which is self-conscious and unified, with clear and precise goals.

What should be retained from the brief critique is a key proposition. From the perspective of a critical sociology of education, any educational activity plays a central role in the process of social reproduction of the social order. Although education may be connected either to interventive strategies of social control or complementary peripheral behavior strategies, it will be the role attributed to the state in the overall reproduction of capitalist societies, and the definition of the structural character of the state, that will help in clarifying the role of public education in the constitution and reproduction of the social order.

Accordingly, the definition of the state is central to understanding social reproduction and the role of education (Carnoy, 1984; Pannu, 1988; Torres, in press; Welton, 1987). The concept of the state has become a fashionable term in political science. Many authors refer to political authority and policy making as the role of the government or the public sector, and some are inclined to use a more comprehensive notion such as the political system rather than the state.

I would like to use the notion of the state first, as a reaction to the liberal-pluralist political approaches rooted in utilitarian perceptions of

politics and operative within a "stateless" theoretical framework. This approach viewed politics as the realm of activities of autonomous individuals exercising private choices or, in its most critical versions, a terrain for negotiation between power and interest groups (including bureaucracies). But public policies were never conceived as representing any single set of global purposes or unified dominant rationales. Second, I will use the term to highlight the role of the state in policy making with purposeful and relatively independent action, while at the same time the state is a terrain where public policy is negotiated or fought over (Torres, in press).

At the highest level of abstraction, I propose to consider the state as a pact of domination and as a self-regulating administrative system. The notion of domination is a fundamental concept of sociology which has been developed particularly in the work of Max Weber and Georg Simmel (Clegg, 1975). It relates to power which can be defined as "the probability that an actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Weber, 1947, p. 152). There are in the classic Weberian literature three types or modes that exercise this power as domination: traditional domination, charismatic domination, and legal-rational domination. The last mode is intimately linked with the origin of modern bureaucracy and seems to prevail in the operation of the modern capitalist states.

Following Cardoso (1979), I consider the state "the basic pact of domination that exists among social classes or fractions of dominant classes and the norms which guarantee their dominance over the subordinate strata" (p. 38). Similarly, Offe (1974) conceptualizes state-organized governance as a selective, event-generating system of rules, that is, a sorting process (p. 37). Offe views the state as comprising the institutional apparatus, bureaucratic organization, and formal and informal codes which constitute and represent the "public" and "private" spheres of social life. The primary focus, then, is neither the interpersonal relations of various elites (as Baldus seems to suggest) nor the decision making process (as the conventional literature on public administration seems to portray).⁵ Therefore, the class character of the state resides not in the social origin of the policy makers, state managers, bureaucracy, or the ruling class, but in the internal structure of the state apparatus itself and the selectivity of public policy—a selectivity that is "built into the system of political institutions" (Offe, 1974, p. 37; Torres, in press).

In a recent and important contribution on adult education in Canada, Welton (1987) has captured the importance of the state and its class selectivity in understanding adult education:

We seldom reflect critically [on] the role of the state in the management of adult learning. To focus this theme, we note that the capitalist state plays three fundamental roles in societal and cultural reproduction: it aids in the capital accumulation process (the accumulative function); it maintains law and order (the coercive function); and it assists in legitimating the rule of the dominant class, or class fractions, through managing societal learning processes (the knowledge legitimating function). While the third function, that of legitimation, is central to our discussion of adult learning, the other two forms obviously interweave with that of the legitimation func-

tion, and impinge in their own way on the practical learning of adults. Here we enter the under-theorized realm of adult education and public policy. (p. 13)

A premise shared by Welton and many other analysts is that the study of adult education policies and programs has been neglected in contemporary sociology of education in favor of research concentrating on schooling and formal education issues (Jarvis, 1985; Thompson, 1980). Indeed, the book edited by Welton (1987), *Knowledge for the People*, is built on the basic argument that

Adult learning is more central to societal reproduction, resistance, and transformation than that of the children. Resistance to and transformation of societal structures emerges from the adult population, and is premised upon men and women's ability to learn new ways of seeing the world and acting within it. In our restriction of educational discourse to inter-generational transmission we have failed to understand the most powerful "education" mechanisms operating within the social order. We ought to think of all the society as a vast school and begin to understand how autonomous learning emerges or is blocked and distorted within our political economy. (p. 7)

This is a provocative statement. It reproves mainstream and critical research in sociology of education for focusing on the study of schooling and for failing to understand the contribution of educational practices to reproduction, resistance, or social transformation.⁶ Moreover, the reconstructivist perspective of Welton accords with that of the pedagogues of liberation (e.g., Freire) who argue that autonomous adult learning is fundamental to the process of social change because it enhances new ways of seeing the world and acting within it.

What *Knowledge for the People* (Welton, 1987) promotes is an understanding of adult education as a social movement in industrialized societies by relating adult education practices and institutions to their critical historical origins. The book also challenges the paternalist mode of adult education discourse that seems dominant in the adult education field in Canada. Similar themes from different perspectives are to be found in Kozol's *Illiterate America* (1985) and in Youngman's *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy* (1986).

Another important proposition emerges from this analysis. Despite the difficulties of defining adult education as a field of study and the existence of a number of initiatives in the private sector, it seems reasonable to claim that adult education as an activity mandated, sponsored, supervised, and certified by the state is as much an apparatus⁷ of the state as any other state agency. The validity of this claim is apparent in regard to academic upgrading, skill upgrading, or vocational adult education programs conducted by institutions operating with federal and provincial government financial support in Canada. Some of the implications of this proposition become clearer in the next section.

Correspondence/Contradiction

The reproduction of capitalist society is related to the reproduction of social forces and the reproduction of the relations of production. The latter is carried out in two complementary ways, first through the qualification and determination of the social agents and, second, through the distribution of

agents in preexisting positions in the labor market (Poulantzas, 1969, p. 32). This process involves the production and reproduction of work habits such as punctuality, obedience, respect for authority, self-initiative, and sense of personal responsibility (Bowles, Gintis, & Meyer, 1975), the sharpening of concrete cognitive skills of workers, the provision of general knowledge and learning skills necessary to sustain the complex technocratic framework of modern production, and ultimately the production and diffusion of class consciousness.

A recent analysis points out that such efforts to achieve *correspondence* between the production and diffusion of knowledge and capitalist social relations coexist with several sources of *contradictions* in the educational system (Carnoy & Levin, 1985). Carnoy and Levin have identified five main sources of contradictions in the school system: (a) the school as a promoter of political ideology (when education in liberal societies is supposed to be neutral and apolitical but operates under the assumption that it should create citizens for liberal democracies); (b) the school as an agent of social equality (while many societal dynamics and institutions move in the opposite direction); (c) the school as an agent of social mobility (while educational credentials are no longer a passport to better paid, highly prestigious jobs for all graduates); (d) the school as an institution of cultural development (while the bulk of the creation and diffusion of knowledge and culture may be now taking place outside the walls of educational institutions); and (e) the relative independence of the educational bureaucracy from the capitalist enterprise (different professional cultures and opposing corporate interests make it difficult to always adjust education output to the needs and requirements of labor markets and capitalist enterprises).

In addition, the so-called correspondence principle (i.e., the correspondence between the social relations of production and the social relations of education) is neither perfect nor complete. First, there are structural or internal contradictions in the schooling system itself (e.g., conflict and clashes between different factions of the bureaucracy, either on professional or political grounds, that make it impossible to establish educational policies and practices that always suit the needs of the dominant classes). Second, because the educational system is a place of work for teachers and administrators, periodic struggles over wages and working conditions tend to reflect the fundamental conflict between wage labor and capital/ownership in capitalist societies. Third, the expectation that the schools are to produce socialized labor and the middle-class perceptions and behavior of most school workers creates barriers to changes in practice advanced by students from the working class or minorities who are searching for alternative social arrangements and political frameworks.

In the political economy of education, this notion of correspondence-contradiction is used as a heuristic device to understand the role and functions of education in capital accumulation. A number of questions emerge from theoretical explorations in the political economy of schooling that could also be posed for adult education. Does education contribute to increased output, or does it allocate people to jobs with higher training requirements, produc-

tivity, and earning potential? Does education legitimize an unequal social structure and thereby contribute to higher output and acceptance of unequal work roles? Or, instead, does education contribute to lower output through legitimizing a profit-making pattern of development (hence capital accumulation) that is less than optimal for a particular society?

Few studies deal with the political economy of adult education. However, some inferences may be drawn from research on schooling, income, and labor markets to illustrate the limitations that adult education policies face. First, available evidence suggests that the wage structure depends on variables exogenous to individual productivity. These variables include gender, race, the nature of a firm's market for goods, maintenance of class structure in the face of meritocratic rules, degree of monopoly power in the market, and/or social class background (Carnoy, 1977; Carnoy, Lobo, Toledo, & Velloso, 1979). Thus differential rates of return to education result not from inequality in the distribution of schooling, but from the basic inequality structures of commodity production societies (Bowles, 1975, 1980; Carnoy, 1975; Levin, 1980). Second, the role of the state in education and income policy is a crucial variable in determining income distribution. In this sense, taxation, wage fixing, price control, inflation, and employment policies are the means by which the state exercises its power—and all of these are policies that are beyond the reach of adult education programs. Third, a decisive standpoint from which to study the relationships between education, income distribution, and capital accumulation is the theory of labor market segmentation. According to this theory, labor market conditions can be understood as outcomes of four segmentation processes: (a) segmentation into primary and secondary markets, (b) segmentation within the primary sector, (c) segmentation by race, and (d) segmentation by gender. The primary and secondary segments are differentiated as follows. Primary jobs are considered those that require and develop stable working habits, and skills are often acquired on the job. Generally, wages are high and job ladders exist. In contrast, secondary jobs do not require and sometimes discourage stable working habits. Wages are low, job ladders are few, and job turnover is high. Secondary jobs are mainly filled by minority workers, youth, and women (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1975). Further fragmentation of labor markets seems likely as new labor segments emerge between and within commercial and industrial firms.

Deskilling

Consideration of the role of education in capital accumulation should be complemented by consideration of the role of educational policies in capitalist development in industrial societies. It is contended that a process of deskilling of the labor force is under way in the workplace due mainly to the increasing complexity of industrial production, the simplification of tasks (Taylorism), the continued growth of a reserve army of unemployed (Pannu, 1988; Therborn, 1980) or the increasing of employment in the personal service sector that requires no particular expertise (e.g., fast food outlets, retail stores).

Simultaneously, this deskilling process contributes to lowering real wages and to increasing owner control (through hiring practices) over the social relations of production in the work place. Consequently, it undermines workers' control over the labor process, further disorganizes and segments the working class, and inhibits their political development. Noting the historical shift from a process of skilling toward a process of deskilling, Braverman (1974) argues that the use-value of the labor force has been incremented while the exchange-value is decremented in contemporary capitalism.

In this regard, several features of the present conditions of industrial production affect those means like adult education which might enhance workers' opportunities, occupational mobility, or progressive income distribution. There is a devaluation of the labor force price because of advances in science and technology and a growing marginalization of a reserve army of underemployed, reducing their chances to be cyclically employed or to return to their previous market segment. There is a progressive shift of people from the primary segment to the secondary one. The decision making process is increasingly monopolized by large corporations and public bureaucracies, thereby reducing the accountability of politics to the common citizen. In addition, there is a restructuring of the world capitalist economy which entails the circulation of a low-cost labor force through international migration among industrial settings.

Patronizing adult education (as it has been labeled by Welton, 1987) aids in skilling and deskilling the labor force. For instance, English as a second language programs tend to adapt immigrants to perform better in the social structure, without offering them a critical understanding of the mechanisms of domination incorporated in the language, or without provoking critical reflection about the structural characteristics of the marketplace into which they will be fitted, usually in low-paying jobs rejected by Canadians. Vocational education programs may be shifting people out of primary labor markets into secondary ones, while promising an economic future marked by job advancement and stability. Such programs might merely help individuals improve their chances to enter lock-step occupations. Moreover, much of the training for jobs and on-the-job training is geared to preparation for work in the formal markets of the economy (either primary or secondary) and fails to take cognizance of the growing phenomenon of nonformal, underground labor markets in capitalism including a sizable number of self-employment strategies.

In summary, adult education policies and programs tend to accept some premises that may not stand up to careful scrutiny from the perspective of the political economy of adult education. The relationships between productivity and education on which many of the manpower programs are based may be less strong than the relationships between earnings and education or schooling (Carnoy, Lobo, Toledo, & Velloso, 1979; Morales-Gómez, 1981). The structure of earnings is neither determined by, nor even necessarily tied to, the distribution of production. The connection between workers' characteristics and wages is not merely economic, but tends to be

socioinstitutional—which may explain why, despite several training programs developed for Native Canadians in the North, the best jobs even in the Native communities are often held by non-Natives and whites (Carney, 1988). The difference between earnings and productivity among secondary workers, who have the lowest levels of education, may be greater than for primary independent workers. More training or adult education courses may not reduce this difference which is rooted in job descriptions, occupational categories, and the perception of job status by the employers.

Thus a fundamental question to be addressed in the planning of an adult education program is: Who is benefiting most from the adult education programs sponsored by the state—the unemployed adult learner and the adult learner employed in the secondary markets of the economy, or the administrators and instructors who have established their growing labor markets in adult education institutions and the state itself? Without a clear understanding of the contributions of adult education to economic development, job creation, job placement, social mobility and the like, it will not be easy to answer this question. In the meantime, many different rationales for adult education policy formation will persist.

Policy Rationalities

There is always an underlying political rationale in adult education policy formation.⁸ Moreover, educational policy is always formulated through a complex process of political bargaining between different interest groups (Kozma, 1985, pp. 347-360). The dominant rationale advanced by public officials, when they are asked to explain new policies in adult education or the creation of a given set of programs, usually involves one or a combination of the following arguments: (a) they are the state's response to explicit social needs and demands expressed by the adults themselves or required by society that are customarily channeled through institutions of social representation such as political parties, churches, or civic organizations; and/or (b) they represent the implementation of a constitutional mandate of the state to supply education for adult citizens and thereby enhance educational opportunities for everyone as part of the welfare mission; and/or (c) they are an integral element in the state's strategy in solving social problems such as poverty, unemployment, marginality, and the like; and/or (d) as an educational investment, they reflect the economic strategy of the state and are intended to provide training or retraining to help individuals get jobs or cope with the changes in the labor market and the occupational structure of the society.

I have argued elsewhere that a number of the assumptions on which these widely accepted rationalities are built are simply misleading (Torres & Unsicker, 1987). If this is so, then the aforementioned rationales are simply rhetoric produced in an attempt to justify investment and policy planning in adult education—often with little information about client needs or the economic, social, and cultural returns. Furthermore, as is elaborated later, most of the policy research in adult education and literacy training lacks a critical theory of the social functions of adult education in development and

of the role of the state in education, and by implication it reflects the wishful thinking and guesswork expressed in policy rationales.

Another policy rationale that is seldom recognized and rarely acknowledged by policy makers is that adult education programs often originate with a bureaucratic decision to expand the system to ameliorate inter-bureaucratic conflicts or struggles between different interest groups. This kind of rationale is a manifestation of what has been termed "a law of development of the bureaucracy" (Offe, 1984, p. 105). This so-called law could be useful in explaining public policy in adult education, especially in states with a strong emphasis on social welfare policy (Torres & Unsicker, 1987).

Policy Orientation of Adult Education in Alberta

Understanding of the policy orientation in Alberta is aided by comparing the formal (schooling) system and nonformal education programs⁹ in Alberta. The Province of Alberta in 1987 had an estimated population of 2,427,600 inhabitants. In terms of age groups, 61% of the population is 25 years of age and older—an aging population because one out of four Albertans is older than 45 years of age. In the academic year of 1985-1986 the formal educational system served a population of 31,437 pre-elementary students, 290,757 students in grades 1-8, and 144,809 students in grade 9 and higher, with 25,237 teachers working full time in all three levels of schooling.

While the resources and services offered to the formal education system are relatively well developed and the object of considerable research, those in the area of nonformal education are not. Thus the scope and performance of adult education services are somewhat more enigmatic.

This is evident in the illiteracy phenomenon. The controversial *Literacy in Canada: A Research Report* (1987) claims that one out of six working Canadians is illiterate. It also observes that the incidence of illiteracy generally increases from east to west. It is highest in Quebec and Newfoundland, and lowest in British Columbia and Alberta. However, a closer examination using the definition proposed in *Literacy in Canada* reveals that the rate of basic illiteracy in Alberta is exactly the same as the national average (8% of the total adult population 18 years of age and older), while Alberta's 13% rate of functional illiteracy is slightly below the Canadian average (16%). With its 21% of total illiteracy, Alberta ranks third nationally after British Columbia (17%) and Manitoba/Saskatchewan (19%).

This implies that there are approximately 360,000 illiterates in the province, a number only slightly less than the total enrollment in the formal education system. In other words, while about 18% of the total population in Alberta is attending schools (from elementary to postsecondary), 15% of the total adult education population is either basically or functionally illiterate.¹⁰ It seems reasonable to assume that the majority of this population is not attending adult education programs. Furthermore, if we consider those people that might be considered "marginal illiterates" (Kozol, 1985), and if we critically assess the education of Native people (Carney, 1988), the

complexity, magnitude, and diversity of potential demands for nonformal education in Alberta become readily apparent.

This situation alone calls for a comprehensive critical review and analysis of adult education services, programs, and policies in the province in terms of conventional cost-benefit analysis; cost-effectiveness analysis; or studies of the socialization and social mobility functions, the selection and recruitment functions, and the exchange value of nonformal education programs (Bock & Papagiannis, 1983). Such an assessment is, however, well beyond the possibilities and intentions of this article.

A salient feature of government policy in Alberta, as in the rest of Canada, has been the shift from a social demand approach to a supply side approach in the planning and provision of adult basic education. The causes and implications of this shift are succinctly analyzed in Pannu (1988). Several provincial government departments share responsibility for adult basic education (ABE) provision: Alberta Advanced Education, Career Development and Employment (formally Alberta Manpower), and Alberta Education. The ABE Discussion Paper (1985) confirms that the development of ABE provisions under these departments has been characterized by one of two orientations—a *manpower* orientation (supply side approach) concerned primarily with enabling individuals to participate in the labor force through exchanges in the market by “upgrading” the value of their labor, or a *human development* (social demand) orientation concerned with enabling all individuals to participate as fully as possible in all aspects of life in the society, thereby improving the labor and capital resources in communities.

ABE provision through Career Development and Employment and under Advanced Education Field Services Division has reflected a manpower orientation focused on helping disadvantaged adults participate in and contribute to the economic life of the province. Provision of ABE has been considered a way to reduce socioeconomic inequities; through improved educational opportunities, disadvantaged adults would be better able to enter the labor force in a manner similar to that enjoyed by citizens generally. By contrast, provision under Alberta Advanced Education community Programs Branch (formerly Further Education Services and Adult Learning Support) and Alberta Education is rooted in the view that ABE should assist adults to live their lives more fully as well as helping them to become self-supporting, productive contributors to society. Some of the pitfalls of the prevailing human capital orientation can be deduced from experiences elsewhere (Bock & Papagiannis, 1983; La Belle, 1988).

Academic Upgrading

These policy orientations find expression in a number of provincial programs and regional/local services aimed at academic upgrading. A few illustrations follow.

The Community Programs Branch (CPB) provides grants to support noncredit adult education courses offered by agencies that are members of Further Education Councils. There are 85 Further Education Councils with

a membership of 1,717 agencies, organizations, institutions, and programming volunteers throughout the province. The funds received by these Councils may be used to offer adult basic literacy courses designed to upgrade the academic skills of adult students to the equivalent of grade 9 competence. However, relatively few literacy courses have been provided. Until recently, the Further Education Councils seemed unaware that such instruction might be needed in their communities. To heighten awareness of community literacy needs, CFB, in collaboration with the ACCESS Network (formerly ACCESS Alberta), undertook a publicity campaign using electronic media. Special project funding was supplied to assist in this endeavor. Most of the programs developed employ a coordinator who engages volunteer tutors to work on a one-to-one basis with adults. Currently, the Branch funds approximately 30 projects which operate in 40 communities.

Additionally, CBP provides grants and textbooks for ESL instruction and distributes *English Express*, a monthly newspaper for adults learning to read English (circulation 8,000). A total of 1,612 courses in ESL or French as a second language were supported in 1985.

The Adult Basic Education Project (ABE Project) is a cooperative effort between the Alberta Vocational Centres (AVC), Community Vocational Centres (CVC), and the Field Services Division of Advanced Education. The Project goals are (a) to provide a forum for discussion among ABE educators, (b) to establish a network for sharing experiences and materials, and (c) to focus on the development of curriculum materials for use in ABE settings. The materials developed through this project focus on the skills deemed necessary for an adult to live successfully in Alberta.

The Career Development and Employment Department offers three main services: (a) career planning for adults (in groups or individual settings) to help choose an occupation, prepare for a job search, and/or plan for further education; (b) advice about obtaining financial assistance; and (c) a consulting service to other agencies to assist them in incorporating career planning into their programs.

At the local level, the Edmonton Association of Continuing Education and Recreation—Literacy Subcommittee coordinates the efforts of a number of institutions and agencies in the Edmonton area involved in literacy. The goals and objectives of the committee are (a) to communicate and share information with individuals and representatives of groups, agencies, institutions, and government departments concerned with adult literacy; (b) to identify and record needs for adult literacy programs and determine if and how the needs can be addressed by the committee; and (c) to take appropriate action to promote public awareness of adult literacy.

Another example of a local initiative with a different orientation is the Boyle Street Co-op, whose counselors provide information and assistance to people requiring food and/or housing and make referrals to academic upgrading programs. A Learning Centre housed in the Co-op but sponsored by Edmonton Public School Board offers a drop-in literacy teaching service. The School Board also offers the Prospects Literacy Program which accepts any students not attending school. The enrollment is usually between 80

and 100 pairs—a pair consists of a student and a tutor. Students and tutors meet in public library branches, homes, or other locations throughout the city.

Regarding education for immigrants, the Edmonton Immigrant Services Association encourages and improves the use of English among non-English speaking immigrants and refugees through small discussion groups. Similarly, the Catholic Social Services' English Language Assessment and Vocational Counselling Service provides several services including ESL assessment and referral, career counseling, financial assistance information, multilingual interpreter services, follow-up contact with clients, and a program to help adult immigrants obtain the equivalent of a high school diploma.

Illustrative of distance education efforts is the Alberta Correspondence School which offers adult upgrading courses at both the junior and senior high school levels. Also, there is the Journeyworkers program available over the ACCESS network, designed to meet the needs of tutors in adult literacy by providing them with video and print instructional materials.

Skill Upgrading

A wide variety of skill upgrading services are available throughout the province, most of which are funded by the provincial and federal governments. At the provincial level, the Career Development and Employment Department coordinates four major initiatives. One is the Alberta Training Program which provides financial support to employers for the training and retraining of employees in medium and high skill occupations. The program also enables employers to retrain some of their employees, averting layoffs. During the 1985/86 fiscal year, 9,318 contracts were developed with 4,306 private sector employers, involving 14,968 trainees. A second is the National Instructional Training Program in which the province provides educational services while the Canadian government contracts to purchase a certain number of places in postsecondary institutions. The federal government reimburses the province for a portion of its costs, and supplies financial assistance directly to federally sponsored students in the form of training allowances or unemployment insurance funds. In 1985-86, there were 19,884 trainees of whom 12,125 were engaged in apprenticeship. The third is the Alberta Vocational Training program which provided skill training to 31,279 adults in 1985-86. The fourth is the Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons Program offering vocational counselling and training to disadvantaged and disabled adults. During 1985-86 it served 1,188 students.

The Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) is a federal government program which aims to provide opportunities for skill development in Canada, and is only partly related to ABE. It replaces former federally sponsored training and job creation programs across Canada. Within the framework of CJS are several programs with different options. Some examples are the skill investment program, extended training leave option, small business training op-

tion, training trust fund option, job entry program, job development, skill shortages program, innovations and community futures.

Ten community colleges, three institutes of technology, and about 100 privately operated vocational schools are engaged in delivering these programs. Additionally, there is a unique set of institutions known as the Alberta Vocational Centres (AVC) and the Community Vocational Centres (CVC). The AVCs are located in Edmonton, Calgary, Grouard, and Lac La Biche. They endeavor to provide a comprehensive range of adult education programs concentrating on adult basic education, skill training, and services responsive to local, regional, and provincial needs. Special emphasis is placed on providing training required to enable the underemployed and unemployed, and those who are socially, economically, geographically, educationally, physically, or mentally handicapped to participate in the social and economic development of the province.

The CVCs provide a variety of basic education programs and support services to 32 communities in north central Alberta. Other agencies serving the region include the North Peace Adult Education Consortium, Blue Quill School, and the Forest Technology School. Overall, the effort to extend adult education services to north central Alberta has been commendable. As one study concluded some years ago, the area

is generously endowed with institutional resources, having only 10 percent of the population of Alberta, yet [it has] 40 percent of its public colleges and 50 percent of its vocational centres. Excluding the two institutes of Technology in Edmonton and Calgary (NAIT and SAIT), 42% of all funds for provincially administered institutions were spent in the study area, which has only 28 percent of the student registration. (Northern Development, 1981, p. 27)

Research Prospectus

The great scope and diversity of adult education in Alberta is merely hinted at in the foregoing description of academic upgrading and skill training programs. The scale and complexity of the operation and the paucity of data about its effectiveness and efficiency give rise to the obligation and the opportunity for research to inform future policies and provisions.

When launching policy research and planning, it is important to remember that the supply side and social demand models reflect different conceptions of what the roles of the capitalist state are in capital accumulation and legitimation of the mode of production. A supply side model will attempt to downplay the intervention of the government in the economy, will sustain a drive toward privatization of education, training, and welfare activities, and will rely heavily on the autonomy and self-regulatory role of the markets. A social demand model will boost state intervention in the economy, enhancing expenditures in welfare activities including education and job creation policies, and will increasingly attempt to regulate the markets.

It is equally important to understand that capitalist education, like the capitalist state, has a *dual character*. On the one hand, capitalist education should provide the means to contribute to the reproduction of the capitalist system, either as a tool to enlarge capital accumulation and the reproduction of the labor force, or as an instrument able to enhance political domina-

tion structures, practices, and codes. On the other hand, in its legitimation role, education may embody basic notions of democracy and the civil society's demands on the state for greater social mobility, the attainment of higher personal skills with which to achieve better positions in the labor markets, and greater social, economic, and political justice. Adult education policies and practices may be reflecting even more dramatically this dual role.

For instance, from the perspective of political economy highlighted earlier in this article, it would be desirable to study supply side and social demand approaches to planning to ascertain their origins and impacts. Such study may also reveal the degree to which developments in Alberta are connected to worldwide shifts in the relationships between capital, labor, and the state, and the changes in the state itself (Pannu, 1988). Current concerns about literacy training in Canada might be illuminated as well.

From the perspective of sociology, the relationship of current offerings and social and job mobility ought to be investigated with particular reference to the attainments of those who participate in academic and skill upgrading programs.

From the perspective of participatory policy planning, the existing network of coordination requires identification and assessment which should then be followed by the testing of alternate means to overcome inadequacies in participation and to avoid unnecessary duplication in services and programs. Broadening the participatory base in planning may eventually lead to greater emphasis on adult education as an instrument for social change rather than as an agent of social regulation. Such an outcome would probably be especially beneficial for the Native population.

Finally, from the perspective of political science, the issue that merits attention is how to strengthen the link between adult education policies and practices, the achievement of a more enlightened citizenry, and the creation or recreation of democratic politics and economic democracy.

Notes

1. K. MacPhail, L. Larson, Z. Manzawe, M. Brown, K. Higgins, and V. Mlekwa collaborated in data collection. The author is grateful to M. Norton and W. Worth for their careful reading and constructive criticism of a previous version.
2. A simple classification of services may be the following: (a) services and programs oriented toward academic upgrading; (b) services and programs oriented toward skill upgrading and vocational education (including on-the-job training and training for jobs); (c) services and programs oriented toward cultural or social enjoyment (including programs for leisure activities and the use of free time); and (d) postsecondary education programs and institutions (including programs for certification or credential purposes, programs that are integral to the philosophy of continuing education, or programs and institutions that provide a second chance to learn for disadvantaged adults). In this article, only the first two categories or types of services are considered. The emphasis is on north central Alberta, particularly Edmonton.
3. The problem of social order is essential in discussing social integration. In political philosophy, Tocqueville, Hobbes, and Locke have all addressed the "problem of order," and they have encountered a fundamental dilemma: how to reconcile the "natural" (although for some writers, induced) self-interest of human beings with the "functional needs" of the society in an abstract but workable social arrangement. Two main solutions have been proposed, neither of them entirely satisfactory, namely the contractual

solution (the notion of a social pact) and the despotic solution (a coercive state) proposed by Hobbes (Baldus, 1977).

4. For a critical discussion of the intersections between class analysis, functionalist analysis, and systemic analysis in social theories concerned with the process of social reproduction, see Morrow and Torres, in press.
5. For a systematic discussion of the prevalent views in public administration, see Bates (1985).
6. An excellent discussion of the role of education in reproduction, resistance, and social transformation can be found in Aronowitz and Giroux (1986), and with a special reference to adult education, see the recent books by Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Shor & Freire, 1986).
7. Taking into account the theoretical debates on theories of the state in the last two decades, I am not entirely satisfied with the term "state apparatuses," especially for its Althusserian connotations. In order to avoid a lengthy debate on terminology, I am using it here in a descriptive fashion. I would refer the reader for a more systematic discussion on this issue to my work with Morrow (in press) where we criticize what we have called the "closed perspectives" in social reproduction.
8. The notion of rationality is used as a theoretical construct, as a matrix of assumptions, theories, and empirical learning from previous experience that could become a guide for action. There is, however, an important difference between rationality and practice. Educational practices, like any social practice, should not be seen only as an outcome of structures or rationalities but as part of the overall dynamics of social interaction. Hence the relationship between a rationality and a given educational practice is similar to the relationship between language and conversation; the language structures the conversation in terms of syntax and grammar but will exert only a partial control over the content of the message (Bowles & Gintis, 1981).
9. The term nonformal education was introduced in the literature in the early '60s. One definition states that:

Nonformal education is generally seen as need-oriented ... utilitarian ... and cheaper than the formal systems. Often it is tied to some productive activity ... and is characterized by ... peer learning ... and flexibility. Students, if the word be retained, generally enroll in nonformal courses because they are interested in what can be learned—not because it counts for a degree ... and nonformal education does not engender elitist feelings among its students. (University of Massachusetts, 1971, cited by Bock & Papagiannis, 1983, p. 14)

A more systematic definition is provided by La Belle (1986) who views it as: "any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children" (p. 2).

10. In light of these findings, several questions arise: Who are the illiterates? Where do they come from? Were they exposed to the education services in the province of Alberta, or is their illiteracy a legacy of some other condition such as immigration or a mother tongue other than English or French? These kinds of questions await investigation.

References

- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B. (1986). *Dictionary of sociology*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.
- Adult basic education in Alberta. A discussion paper*. (1985, December). Further Education Services.
- Aronowitz, S., & Giroux, H. (1986). *Education under siege. The conservative, liberal and radical debate over schooling*. Amherst: Bergin & Garvey.
- Baldus, B. (1977). Social control in capitalist societies: An examination of the "problem of order" in liberal democracies. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 2(3), 247-262.
- Bates, R. (1985). *Public administration and the crisis of the state*. Victoria, Australia: Deakin University.
- Bock, J.C., & Papagiannis, G.J. (Eds.). (1983). *Nonformal education and national development*. New York: Praeger.
- Bowles, S. (1975). Unequal education and the reproduction of the social division of labor. In M. Carnoy (Ed.), *Schooling in a corporate society* (pp. 38-66). New York: McKay.

- Bowles, S. (1980). Education, class conflict, and uneven development. In J. Simmons (Ed.), *The educational dilemma: Policy issues for developing countries in the 1980s* (pp. 205-231). Oxford: Pergamon.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1981). Education as a site of contradictions in the reproduction of the capital-labor relationships: Second thoughts on the "correspondence principle." *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 2, 223-242.
- Bowles, S., Gintis, H., & Meyer, P. (1975, summer). The long shadow of work: Education, the family and the reproduction of the social division of labor. *Insurgent Sociologist*, 3-22.
- Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and monopoly capital*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Broady, D. (1981). Critique of the political economy of education: The Prokla approach. *Apropos of a tenth anniversary. Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 2, 141-189.
- Cardoso, F.H. (1979). On the characterization of authoritarian regimes in Latin America. In D. Collier (Ed.), *The new authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Carney, R.J. (1988). The adult education of Native people in Alberta. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 34(3).
- Carnoy, M. (Ed.). (1975). *Schooling in a corporate society: The political economy of education in America*. New York: McKay.
- Carnoy, M. (1977). *Education and employment: A critical appraisal*. Paris: IIEP-UNESCO.
- Carnoy, M. (1984). *The state and political theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Carnoy, M., & Levin, H. (1985). *Schooling and work in the democratic state*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Carnoy, M., Lobo, J., Toledo, A., & Velloso, T. (1979). *Can educational policy equalize income distribution in Latin America?* London: Saxon House.
- Clegg, S. (1975). *Power, rule and domination*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Freire, P., & Macedo, D. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*. Amherst: Bergin & Garvey.
- Jarvis, P. (1985). *The sociology of adult and continuing education*. London: Croom Helm.
- Kozma, T. (1985). Conflict of interest in educational planning. *Prospects*, 15(3), 346-360.
- Kozol, J. (1985). *Illiterate America*. New York: Plume.
- La Belle, T.J. (1986). *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, reform or revolution?* New York: Praeger.
- La Belle, T.J. (1988). Nonformal education for industrialization in Latin America: The human capital approach. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 34(3).
- Levin, H. (1980). The limits of educational planning. In H. Weiler (Ed.), *Educational planning and social change*. Paris: IIEP-UNESCO.
- Literacy in Canada: A research report*. (1987). Ottawa: Southam Communications.
- Morales-Gómez, D. (1981). *Understanding education and work. Review of the main theoretical streams*. Ottawa: Mimeograph.
- Morrow, R., & Torres, C.A. (1988, February). *Social theory, social reproduction, and education's everyday life: A framework for analysis*. Paper presented at the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology (WASA) Annual Meeting, University of Alberta.
- Morrow, R., & Torres, C.A. (in press). *Social theory, social reproduction and educational research*.
- Northern Development. (1981). *Projection of highway qualified manpower requirement in Northern Alberta*. Northern Alberta Department-Council.
- Offe, C. (1974). Structural problems of the capitalist state: Class rule and the political system. On the selectiveness of political institutions. In Von Beyme (Ed.), *German political studies* (pp. 31-56). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Offe, C. (1984). *Contradictions of the welfare state*. London: Hutchinson.
- Pannu, R. (1988). Adult education, economy, and state in Canada. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 34(3).
- Poulantzas, N. (1969). *Poder político y clases sociales en el estado capitalista*. Mexico: Siglo XXI.
- Reich, M., Gordon, D., & Edwards, R.C. (1975). A theory of labor market segmentation. In M. Carnoy (Ed.), *Schooling in the corporate society* (pp. 69-79). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Shor, I., & Freire, P. (1986). *A pedagogy for liberation*. Amherst: Bergin & Garvey.

- Therborn, G. (1980). *Why some people are more unemployed than others*. London: Verso.
- Thompson, J.L. (Ed.). (1980). *Adult education for change*. London: Hutchinson.
- Torres, C.A. (in press). The capitalist state and public policy formation. Framework for a political sociology of educational policy making. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*.
- Torres, C.A., & Unsicker, J. (1987). *Adult education as political education*. Paper presented to the International Congress of Political Education, Tabasco, Mexico.
- Weber, M. (1947). *Economy and society*. Chicago, IL: Free Press.
- Welton, M.R. (Ed.). (1987). *Knowledge for the people: The struggle for adult learning in English-speaking Canada 1828-1973*. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Youngman, F. (1986). *Adult education and socialist pedagogy*. London: Croom Helm.

JAMES M. SMALL

University of Alberta

Preparation of Adult Educators in Alberta

Three phases in the evolution of training opportunities for adult educators in Canada are identified, and their sociological factors and modes of operation are noted. Some of the salient features of current programs in Alberta are described. The author concludes that preparation programs in adult education appear to be influenced more by contextual forces than by the process of needs determination and rational program planning.

Adult educators practice in diverse settings and bring varied perspectives to the task. All have in common the experience of assisting adults to become more competent in some aspect of their lives. Adult educators may be professionals or volunteers, working full time or part time, in a formal or nonformal setting, with or without specific training, and with or without a credential such as a certificate or degree in adult education. Adult education is a huge enterprise which has been estimated to absorb more than the total amount of money spent on formal schooling; yet the preparation of adult educators has not been the subject of much public concern or institutional activity.

This article deals with how adult educators acquire their training for entry into the profession or for professional development. From the Canadian and Albertan experience, an attempt is made to derive some propositions descriptive of the state of the art of program development.

Canadian Scene

Although Canada has a long tradition of service in adult education, it does not have a long tradition of preparation programs. Adult education in the 20th century has evolved through three phases, each distinguished by its sociological context, locus of activity, and training response.

The first phase was a mass movement which Welton (1987) referred to as a "tidal wave of social awakening" (p. 14), with stirrings in such far-flung places as Antigonish and Yellowknife, eventually consolidating in Toronto with the creation in 1935 of the Canadian Association of Adult Education.

This movement was founded on an ideology of social and ethical reconstruction as the nation struggled to cope with the great depression and its aftermath. Activities were concentrated on the special needs of the working classes and took place in town halls, churches, and on the work-site

Dr. Small, a professor of educational administration with a specialization in postsecondary education, is currently serving as a graduate student advisor in the Adult and Higher Education programs.

under the direction of a disparate group of teachers. In the 1940s the movement achieved national prominence through the effective use of mass media, especially radio, newspapers, and bulletins such as the Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum.

Generally, the teachers in this phase were amateur adult educators—professors of extension, union leaders, priests, and even laborers—who had developed skills of public speaking. Although many modes of instruction were used, the most popular was the exhortative lecture followed by audience interaction and dialectic. Many of the teachers were successful scholars, but there was little or no opportunity for formal training in adult education. Griffith and Roberts (1982) note that the first undergraduate course on adult education was introduced in 1935 at Sir George Williams College. This was an early recognition of a budding profession.

The second phase of adult education began in the 1960s with an apparent shift in focus toward the individual learner. Some associated phenomena were the maturing of the baby boomers, the advent of sputnik, and the expansion of the postsecondary system. With the increase in formal sector activities, the need for teachers and administrators outpaced supply. Many of the new positions were filled by educators who were trained for careers in public schooling. At the same time, a whole new creed on the teaching of adults (andragogy) as distinct from children (pedagogy) was emerging under the influence of such writers as Knowles (1970) and Kidd (1973). These forces lent impetus to the growing recognition of need for specialized training.

To address this need, the first full graduate program of adult education was created at the University of British Columbia in 1961 (Griffith & Roberts, 1982). Other universities followed suit. In some instances, adjustments to existing programs were made. In other cases, new graduate degree programs in adult education were established.

The current third phase in the adult education movement is characterized by the ideals of lifelong learning and universality of access within a learning society. The rate of technological change has made continuing education a social imperative, and other factors such as the decline of the traditional college age group, unemployment, and the erosion of the monopoly of postsecondary institutions have had an impact. The distinction between adult education and postsecondary education has become blurred as each has moved into the preserve of the other. Even the tenets of andragogy have been questioned as theorists search for a unifying model of effective teaching. Adult education appears to lack unanimity of purpose. Welton (1987) has described it as being "fragmented along institutional lines," "professionalized, becalmed and technicized," and "captive to ideologies of the individual learner" (pp. 29, 30). A central concern appears to be the balance of forces between the social good and the individual's right to self-development, although these are not necessarily in conflict.

In conjunction with the universalization of adult education, preparation programs are now available across the nation. Wickett, Collins, McKay, and Plumb (1987) found that 10 universities offer graduate programs: Univer-

sity of Alberta, University of British Columbia, University of Calgary, Dalhousie University, University of Guelph, Université de Montréal, University of New Brunswick, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, St. Francis Xavier University, and University of Saskatchewan. All offer masters degrees, and three (UBC, Montréal, and OISE) offer doctorates in adult education. All but Dalhousie and Guelph offer graduate diploma or certificate programs as well. Descriptions are provided in the Wickett report.

In some universities, specializations in adult education are offered at the undergraduate level. The University of Guelph has a Bachelor of Science (Agriculture) with a minor in extension education, and the University of New Brunswick offers a Bachelor of Arts in adult education. Five universities (Alberta, Queens, Toronto, Victoria, and Western Ontario) offer Bachelor of Education programs with an adult education option.

There are more similarities than differences among graduate programs. Where a Master of Arts is offered, a thesis is usually required. Most Master of Education programs provide a choice of thesis or research project. All graduate programs have a solid component of basic theory such as the sociology and psychology of the adult learner. The ratio of basic theory to practical courses is in the order of 3 to 4; the basic courses are more likely to be compulsory than are the applied courses. The master's program at St. Francis Xavier is individualized and carried out at a distance from the campus. The program begins with a three-week concentration on campus, after which the student completes three program phases in his or her own work setting, and then ends with a thesis. The numbers of part-time students in graduate programs outstrip full-time students by a ratio of 5 to 1.

The similarities in programs are explained in part by attempts to establish a dialogue on standards. To this end, a consortium of Professors of Adult Education has been established with membership representative of 16 Canadian universities. Also, the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, which is composed of American and Canadian professors, but with the former in a large majority, approved a statement of Standards for Graduate Programs in Adult Education covering curriculum, faculty, organization, student programs, resources and facilities, and scholarship. The extent to which this statement has influenced Canadian programs is speculative, but it reflects the professionalism which is being brought to this new program area.

Alberta

On a provincial scale, Alberta has experienced the same three phases of development. The leadership activities of the Department of Extension of the University of Alberta exemplified phase one, and the expansion of the postsecondary sector in the 1960s and 1970s was typical of phase two. Alberta created a comprehensive postsecondary system consisting of universities, public colleges, technical institutes, private colleges, and trade schools, and a diverse sector which includes vocational centers, hospital schools of nursing, and other specialized training centers. The formal system, as well as providing full-time credit programs, is heavily engaged in continuing education. Continuing education is also offered through the

school system and a large number of agencies which together constitute the nonformal sector. Coordination of noncredit education is accomplished through 85 Further Education Councils.

Three programs for training adult educators were initiated during the second phase at the University of Alberta. A master's program in Community Development was introduced in 1968, but it was withdrawn within a few years for a variety of reasons including funding and structural problems. In 1969 the Department of Educational Administration launched the College Administration Program with financial support from the Kellogg Foundation. After the initial five year period of funding, the program was terminated. Likewise, in 1977 the Faculty of Education introduced a graduate diploma program in postsecondary education which was suspended in 1982. In all cases, the discontinuance of these programs can be attributed more to lack of political will and insufficient funding than to a lack of commitment by those involved in the program or to poor client response.

By the 1980s Alberta's postsecondary system had grown to the extent of being among the most diverse and accessible in Canada. As a result, the participation rate in adult education is the highest in the country—one in four, compared to a national average of one in five (Statistics Canada, 1984). However, the acceptance of the need for specialized training in adult education has only recently occurred. One contributing factor was the survey of adult educators in Alberta undertaken by Duncan Campbell in 1977. About one third of the respondents were found to have no university training, one third had some university training, and one third had some graduate level study (Campbell, 1977). More specifically, Campbell found that "in the case of the leadership element in adult education ... about two-thirds reported involvement only in the most informal of preparation such as reading or discussion with interested others" (p. 153). On the basis of his findings, Campbell made a strong case for the provision of formal preparation in adult education at the graduate level. However, it would take several more years before such development took place.

Currently in Alberta, all four universities are involved to some extent in the preparation of adult educators, but the focus of action is the University of Alberta, the largest university in the province with approximately 30,000 full-time and part-time students. Study in adult education is available at several levels.

An adult education route was introduced at the University of Alberta as an option in the Bachelor of Education program in 1978. It is designed for those interested in teaching careers in technical institutes, colleges, and vocational centers, but at the same time it fulfills the requirements for a school teaching certificate. The Diploma in Postsecondary Education was reinstated in 1985. Admission requires any undergraduate degree and an interest in adult education. The program consists of eight three-credit courses, at least four of which must be in adult education.

In 1985, after about a decade of campaigning by advocates within the Faculty of Education, the Master's Program in Adult and Higher Education

was launched with the help of an Innovative Projects Grant from the Alberta Government. Prendergast (1987) comments on the tortuous process of program approval as follows:

In the final analysis the reasons for the slow evolution of the program was [sic] that during each initiative there were multiple realities the Faculty of Education was required to deal with. These realities included such things as budgetary restraints, structural mechanisms for administering such programs, and at times a lack of sense of urgency for such a program. It was not until these multiple realities gradually coalesced into the single reality that a program in Adult and Higher Education was absolutely necessary that the launching of the program occurred. (p. 70)

The Master's Program is built on the same principles as the Diploma—student centeredness, flexibility, and interdisciplinarity. It is comprised of core courses, options to support a concentration, research courses, and a thesis or project. One measure of the program's success is the market response to it. After three years of operation there were approximately 60 students enrolled in the program, exceeding the original estimate by about 33%. At the doctoral level, no specific programs in adult or higher education are available at this time, but students may pursue their interests through studies in related departments such as Educational Administration, Educational Foundations, and Educational Psychology.

Although the focus of training in Alberta in numerical terms is clearly Edmonton, the University of Calgary also offers a graduate diploma and a master's program. The diploma program carries the designation Diploma in Adult and Continuing Education. It is similar to the diploma at the University of Alberta in admission and course requirements, but it focuses more specifically on training for continuing and community education. This is also true of the master's program. The University of Calgary is notable in that it has been able to adopt many of the principles of continuing education into its graduate programs such as part-time studies and off-campus offerings.

In the noncredit training area, both the University of Alberta and the University of Calgary have been active for many years. In 1958 the Department of Extension (as it was then known) at the University of Alberta initiated the Alberta Adult Education Conferences. This series of two-day meetings featured lectures by national and international authorities. The success of these workshops and the research of Dr. Campbell, referred to earlier, led to the creation of an Adult Education Unit in 1977. Between 1977 and 1986, a total of 2,928 registrations were received in 129 workshops (Roberts, 1987).

The action in noncredit programming may have swung to Athabasca University, Alberta's "Open University." In February 1987 Athabasca University announced a \$1.5 million federally funded job-training project designed to sharpen the skills of industry-based trainers. "The three-year project, called Training the Trainers, will develop a teaching model to be used for in-house training in industry and business" ("Athabasca U," 1987). The project will produce a set of training packages for professionals. Although it is too soon to determine the impact of this project, it is assumed

that it will do much to enhance the skills of industry-based adult educators as well as to advance the acceptance of self-study training packages.

The training picture would be incomplete without mention of the tremendous range of nonformal training initiatives. That is, the actions of agencies whose primary function is not adult education. Most government agencies have officers who train department members who in turn train other adult employees. The same is true throughout the private sector.

Although the need for training programs for adult educators had been recognized in 1959 by the Alberta Royal Commission on Education which stated that "without a core of trained people, an effective adult education program cannot be created and maintained" (pp. 168-169), it required another 20 years before the rhetoric was translated into meaningful action. Even then, Alberta's attempts to mount professional programs at the graduate level sputtered, and Alberta came to be outdistanced in this respect by other provinces, most notably Ontario and British Columbia.

Finally, in the mid-1980s, thanks to the creativity and persistence of committed individuals in finding ways to circumvent financial and logistical barriers, a Master's Program in Adult and Higher Education was launched at the University of Alberta. While this is by no means the only program in the field, it is already, and will continue to be, at the forefront of the training movement in Alberta.

Conclusion

This review reveals that the provision of training is not simply the result of the logical identification of needs, followed by systematic arrangements to address these needs, but rather of a confluence of forces which at historic times set the stage for action. These forces arise from the social context and are conditioned by the dominant forms and practices of adult education. Preparation programs for adult education conform loosely with the field of practice; however, there appears to be a phase delay resulting in training provisions lagging behind the evident need by at least a decade. The rational demonstration of need through surveys and studies helps more by getting the attention of the public and opinion leaders than by discovering hitherto unknown salient facts. Training programs evolve to the extent that they acquire the political and financial support of backers, usually governments or foundations.

The creation of a university-based training program and its fulfillment of expectations does not guarantee its institutionalization within a competitive university environment. Successful programs need to be protected by gaining the support of internal and external influentials in order to establish a permanent place alongside other programs with unrelated goals but common funding sources.

Finally, it can be noted with some certainty that as adult education continues to evolve, so too will the training needs of teachers and facilitators. Therefore training programs must acquire a maximum degree of flexibility in both content and structure in order to maintain their relevance.

References

- Athabasca U to design training course for pros. (1987, February 7). *The Edmonton Journal*.
- Campbell, D. (1977). *Adult education as a field of study and practice*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Griffith, W., & Roberts, P. (1982). Adult education. In J. Andrews & W. Rogers (Eds.), *Canadian research in education: A state of the art review* (pp. 3-1 to 3-29). Canadian Society for the Study of Education.
- Kidd, J.R. (1973). *How adults learn*. New York: Association Press.
- Knowles, M. (1970). *The modern practice of adult education*. New York: Association Press.
- Prendergast, C. (1987). *The development of the adult and higher education program at the University of Alberta*. Unpublished project report, University of Alberta.
- Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta*. (1959). Government of Alberta.
- Roberts, H. (1987). *Adult education unit review*. Unpublished report, Faculty of Extension, University of Alberta.
- Statistics Canada. (1984). *One in every five: A survey of adult education in Canada*. Ottawa: Author.
- Welton, M. (1987). On the eve of a great mass movement: Reflections on the origins of the CAAE. In F. Cassidy & R. Faris (Eds.), *Choosing our future* (pp. 12-35). Toronto: OISE.
- Wickett, R., Collins, M., McKay, W., & Plumb, D. (1987). *Adult education studies in Canada—1987*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK.

ROBERT J. CARNEY

University of Alberta

The Evolution of Indian Adult Education Programs in Alberta

The article describes the evolution of adult education programs provided to registered Indians in Alberta over the past 100 years with particular reference to programs arranged outside the formal systems of education. It also examines three hypotheses relating to the orientations and outcomes of Indian education programs, especially those relating to the training and education of Indian adults. The argument is advanced that such programs have been assimilative in nature and that they have been of minimal long-term benefit to the people concerned.

This article reviews the range of adult education programs provided to registered Indians¹ in Alberta from the time of the Treaties in the 1870s to the present. It relates such programs as farming, health, upgrading, life skills, cultural and vocational education to the social and political frameworks designed for Indian adults by the federal and provincial governments. Although special reference is made to basic education arrangements, the paper focuses on adult programs provided outside the public school and higher education systems. Three hypotheses are examined in the study: first, that most programs for Indian adults have been seen as supplementary to school based programs rather than as learning activities of direct benefit to adults; second, that those programs having a vocational orientation have facilitated employment for few Indian adults and have not addressed the needs of the majority who continue to live in poverty and to experience high levels of social and cultural dislocation; and third, that most adult and other programs have contributed to the development of exclusive Indian communities that are largely dependent on transfer payments and other forms of external support.

Teaching the Indians

Trading and missionary groups made concentrated efforts to change the behavior of Indian adults in the West during the mid-19th century (Mabin-disa, 1984; Ray, 1974, 1981). With the signing of Treaties 6, 7, and 8, however, the educational focus shifted from the adult to the child. The schooling clause from Treaty No. 7 illustrates this point: "Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers" (Treaty No. 7, 1877).

Dr. Carney is a professor in the Department of Educational Foundations specializing in the history of Canadian education.

A Focus on Children

Successive Indian administrations generally held that little could be done with the Indian parent and that the focus of change should be on the Indian child. The antecedents of this view go back to the colonial period when French and British authorities believed that the Amerindian had to be changed from a state of savagery to a state of civility. Having achieved little success in converting Indian adults, Christian missionaries shifted their emphasis to the young. Indian children were sent to special boarding institutions away from the “pernicious influence of their Parents’ Example” (Axtell, 1981, p. 99) to be brought up English or French. The children endured a regimen of piety, literacy and labor designed to prepare them for the “task of converting their brethren to civilized Christianity” (Axtell, 1981, p. 66).

With the setting up of reserves and the establishment of Indian residential schools, the strategy of exclusion became more encompassing. Paradoxically, this exclusion eventually was supposed to facilitate inclusion into the white society. The catalyst in the exclusion-inclusion formula was, purportedly, the Indian child.

This policy, initially developed by the Indian administration of Canada West (Report on the Affairs of the Indians of Canada, 1847), was unequivocally expressed in the first Western Treaty signed in 1871. At this occasion, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald told the Indians assembled at Fort Garry that, “[your] Great Mother ... would like [you] to adopt the habits of the whites” and to send their children to specially designated schools (Morris, 1880, pp. 28, 31). The Indian Act of 1876 further indicates the assimilationist nature of Indian policy. The statutory authority granted the long-standing arrangements for Indian education between the churches and the federal government in 1880 reaffirmed and consolidated the policy of assimilating the Indian. Consequently, the churches played a major role in Indian education until the 1960s. For much of this time residential schools were considered to be the most effective institutions for changing Indian behavior. An indication of how intensive this policy was is evidenced in the 1931 Indian school returns. In that year, for example, 95% of the Indian children registered in school in Alberta attended residential institutions. The same source indicates that hardly any children went beyond elementary school and that virtually nothing was spent on adult education (*Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1930-31).

A Program of Integration

The educational programs designed to assimilate the Indians were not passively accepted. On the contrary, dissatisfaction with the character of the schooling contributed to the resurgence of Indian groups on the prairies in the 1930s. And by 1945, demands for restructuring the entire Indian system of education were presented to the federal government (Indian Association of Alberta, 1945). The government’s response to the demands, which included condemnation of residential schools, assumed more subtle forms of social exclusion. Integrated schools were introduced in the 1950s. In theory

such schools are the antithesis of exclusion; in practice a different situation existed. Because many Indian children did not do well in integrated schools, remedial programs were designed for them. More extreme cases involved separating Indian children from their parents and communities through foster care ("Indian Band Fights," 1982) and other custodial arrangements.

But concern in the 1950s was not restricted to the "welfare" of Indian children. References were also made to the need to "rehabilitate" Indian adults. In response to these concerns the Department of Indian Affairs began funding adult programs in 1956. More specific comments about adult education are contained in the Minutes of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs in the early 1960s. A 1965 departmental report, however, indicated that expenditures in the area of adult education were primarily seen as a way of helping Indian parents understand the nature of their children's schooling (Gooderham, 1965).

In an effort to resolve some of the principal issues concerning Indian conditions, the federal government issued the *White Paper on Indian Policy* in 1969. Indian leaders viewed the Paper as an attempt by the government to abandon its responsibilities for Indian Affairs. They responded with counter proposals such as Citizens Plus (1970) and *A Declaration of Indian Rights* (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 1970). The central themes of these proposals were arguments for "local control" and "parental responsibility." These themes were reiterated in a National Indian Brotherhood policy paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs in December 1972. When the Minister agreed "with the paper's basic position of Indian parental responsibility and local control in education" (Chrétien, 1973), a course was set in which Indian parents were expected to devote greater time and energy to "remedial and coping types of education" for themselves and their children (Roberts, 1982, p. 150). But forms of adult education that addressed their personal, social, and cultural needs were either given lower priority or were put aside entirely.

Education and Work

Whether schooled or not the Indian was expected to obtain gainful employment. There were indications in the last quarter of the 19th century that Indians were adjusting to the new order (Dion, 1979, pp. 122-123). But with the setting up of a network of local Indian agencies early in this century the government adopted an increasingly autocratic and regulatory stance which, according to one observer, had as its ultimate end "the emancipation, i.e., the admission of the Indian people into full citizenship and their biological absorption" (Harper, 1945, p. 132).

The means of achieving this in Alberta depended on the location of the reserve. Indians in the boreal forest were expected to maintain themselves through trapping activities, while those in southern areas were expected to become farmers or ranchers. Little instruction was thought necessary for northern groups; whatever was needed could be provided by teachers and missionaries and by provisions of twine and ammunition. In the agricultural areas instruction was carried out mainly on model reserve farms or by encouraging Indians to pick up the necessary skills as laborers on nearby

farms. The reports of Indian agents were invariably optimistic about the progress being made, that is, until the 1930s when the depression and declining fur prices put an end to such comment (*Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1905-06/1934-35). Following the Second World War, a parliamentary committee found the Indians' social and economic situation to be worrisome (Proceedings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act, 1946-1948). This prompted the establishment of non-child-related adult education programs in the 1950s and 1960s involving one or more of the following activities: basic literacy, academic upgrading, vocational and trades instruction, social and community skill training, and placement and relocation counselling (Carney, 1982, p. 3). Many programs involved short-term courses such as welding, handicrafts, and office practice, but from time to time a number of major activities were merged into one program. The availability and intensity of the activities varied, but their implicit rationale was that they provided a "safety net" for those who had "failed the first time around." In addition to reinforcing child-based programs by providing instruction in school support and health care, many of the new adult education programs attempted to address a "politically intolerable ... situation in which the pool of virtually unemployable native-born continued to grow larger and larger" (Thomas, 1981, pp. 253-256).

Adult Education for Indians

As background to a discussion of the social and economic conditions of Indians in Alberta in the 1980s, a review is made of the following Department of Indian Affairs adult education programs: (a) the Indian welfare teacher, (b) Indian adult educators, (c) the Elliott Lake Relocation Project, (d) Community Vocational Centres, and (e) Postsecondary Education. It is assumed that the measures involved would have had an ameliorative effect on Indian conditions described by the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs (1946-1948) and that the social and economic distance existing between Indian and non-Indian societies would have been lessened accordingly.

The welfare teacher. Immediately following the War the Department of Indian Affairs established Indian Welfare Teacher positions. Those recruited were subject to civil service regulations and, according to the Minister responsible, were expected "to provide community leadership and so help to make the settlements in which they work happier, healthier and better organized places" (Winters, 1951, p. 47). By 1951 their exploits were being heralded in the *Indian School Bulletin* and in a Departmentally produced filmstrip. An account of the activities of a Welfare Teacher at Fort McPherson demonstrates what the Department had in mind. The teacher not only had full-time classroom duties and an active extracurricular program, she also settled family disputes, gave advice on financial matters, and conducted evening classes for adults (*Indian School Bulletin*, 1951). The activities of Welfare Teachers ended in the mid-1960s when their out-

of-school tasks were taken over by a new group of adult educators and by other Departmental personnel.

Adult instructors. By the end of the 1960s there were three full-time Indian Affairs adult educators in Alberta including a Supervisor of Adult Education at regional headquarters in Edmonton. Much of their activity was devoted to academic upgrading, mostly for young adults, and to band leadership training. In a 1970 memorandum the Supervisor made it clear that it was "our [the Department's] duty to let them [the Indians] know what is available in the way of instruction and how it is likely to benefit them" (Trussler, 1971, p. 2). By 1971 the region's post school program had 23 staff, five adult educators, and 20 vocational and employment relocation counsellors. Most adult programming involved academic upgrading, and much of the instruction was carried out by school districts and community colleges. Both budget allocations and staff numbers indicate that the highest priority was given to training, placement, and relocation programs that led to permanent employment off the reserve. Approximately three percent of the Alberta Region's total education budget (in school and post school) was assigned to civic education, academic upgrading, and informal vocational education in 1971-72 (*Post School Program in Alberta*, p. 14). It is not known to what extent the adult educators worked with another unit in the Department, the community development officers in the Social Programs Division. Because the CDOs in Alberta were not civil servants, their autonomy only heightened the view among Indian Affairs officials that they were "trouble makers" (McEwen, 1968, p. 29).

Elliott Lake. The Pilot Relocation Project at Elliott Lake is an example where a range of post school programs was brought together: upgrading, life skills, vocational training, and placement and relocation counselling. It began in January 1967 and was sponsored by Indian Affairs, Canada Manpower, and the local Provincial Centre for Continuing Education. It involved 20 Indian families who were brought out from reserves in Northern Ontario to Elliott Lake. An Indian Affairs official explained the undertaking as follows:

As you know there are twenty-five thousand Indians in Northern Ontario and many of these are living in areas that are economically depressed, and the idea was to bring them out to industry rather than attempting to bring industry to them. (*Elliott Lake: Indian Relocation*, 1967)

Most of the families did not complete the program. While a government evaluation found the project wanting in several respects, it expressed the hope that its failure would not reverse "what was essentially a sound policy decision by the [Indian Affairs] Branch to enter upon a relocation program for one hundred thousand Canadian Indians" (Bond, 1968, pp. 2-3). One need not list the measures officials proposed to overcome the difficulties inherent in "crash programs" like Elliott Lake (Gooderham, 1965, p. 101); and while they suggested greater Indian involvement, their program orientations remained pretty much the same.

Community Vocational Centres. The establishment of Community Vocational Centres (CVCs) in Northwestern Alberta in the early 1970s indicates

what had been learned from the Elliott Lake experience. Having achieved some success in Native adult programming in Alberta and Saskatchewan in a project known as Newstart, the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion (DREE) teamed up with the Alberta Human Resources Development Authority (HRDA) in 1970 to implement a plan for the social and economic development of the area around Lesser Slave Lake. This joint federal-provincial effort sought to address the needs of native people in a comprehensive manner. Although governed by locally elected Education Management Committees, the Community Vocational Centres were expected to operate within the framework of the regional development plan by providing occupational and other employment related skills. It was also understood that the institutions should meet a number of other objectives, including "upgrading youthful academic dropouts and helping local communities create an advantageous and supporting climate for children to continue education in local schools" (Card, 1975, p. 171).

The clientele of the Centres is made up of adults and out-of-school youth. Full-time students are expected to take an Adult Life Management course which is designed to provide "educationally and socially disadvantaged adults with a holistic educational experience which addresses skills necessary to cope successfully with contexts pertaining to an adult role, e.g. health and safety of self and others, citizenship, managing home and family, earning a living" (*Development Plan*, 1984, Appendix 1). As many as 22 CVCs have been in operation in a single year, and more than 30 communities have been served by some 65 programs (Burkholder, 1986, p. 5). Most assessments of the CVC program have been positive (Burkholder, 1986; Card, 1975; *Institutional Self-Study*, 1979) with the possible exception of a 1979 external evaluation. The evaluation found few courses relating "specifically to native technologies and ideologies" and "no indication of any formal follow-up of students graduating or leaving the program" (Carney & Simpson, 1979, pp. 28, 32). It is surprising that courses or programs related to Indian languages or systems of belief, for example, are offered so seldom, especially when Native people have been given the responsibility for program development. Whatever the cause, the situation appears not to concern the CVC administrators. Staff evaluations of the program's success are either largely anecdotal (Burkholder, 1986, p. 6) or disingenuous (*Institutional Self-Study*, 1979, p. 10) in their references to the activities and destinations of program graduates. Unlike some recent adult-vocational programs in the United States such as the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation Project (Auletta, 1982), CVC program outcomes have not been researched on a long-term, arm's length basis.

Postsecondary education. The CVC initiative, which continues to be managed by the Alberta government, is only one of the many Indian post school programs funded by Indian Affairs and by other federal agencies. As Table 1 indicates recent Indian Affairs post school programs have emphasized academic, professional, and vocational education.

The figures in Table 1 reveal a growing trend by Indian Affairs to support only those programs involving "the knowledge and skills appropriate to

TABLE 1
Post School Education, Department of Indian and
Northern Affairs Alberta Region

Type of Education	Expenditure 1977-78	Allocation for 1979-80	Allocation for 1987-88
University and Professional	\$993,880	\$1,415,600	\$14,700,000
Occupational Skills	948,400	1,204,000	1,700,000
Band Staff Training (Indian Management Program)	279,500	146,000	220,000
Training on the Job	163,500	155,400	650,000
Adult Education	279,300	81,500	(included in occupational skills)
Cultural Programs	27,700	10,000	662,264

Source: Indian Association Analysis of D.I.N.A. Financial Statements (Roberts, 1982, p. 153); Cultural and Linguistics Section, I.N.A.C. (Ottawa), Education Section Employment and Training Section I.N.A.C. (Edmonton)

economic integration” (Roberts, 1982, p. 150). As the allocation for 1987-1988 indicates, one result of this emphasis has been to transfer the budget for adult education to the occupational skills program. Both the Alberta and federal governments have resolved “to support self-sufficiency for Native (Indians/Metis) and their communities by minimizing dependency creation and maximizing the development of local economies” (*Canada/Alberta, Memorandum of Understanding*, 1985, p. 2). However, as is shown later in the discussions on socio-economic issues and inclusionary and exclusionary models, most employment initiatives on reserves either have been unsuccessful or have been maintained by compensation arrangements. Moreover, few post school programs are provided on reserves. Those that exist are either offered by provincial agencies in Indian-managed adult centers such as Old Sun or Blue Quills, or by provincial universities and colleges. Because viable economic enterprises on the reserves are not seen to be likely, the direction of most post school programs is toward off-reserve placement and employment. Even when agricultural projects are considered, surveys suggest that the amount of suitable reserve land (Class 4 or better) would only sustain a fraction of the population on most reserves (*The Agricultural Potential of Native Communities*, 1986).

The substantial increase in cultural funding noted in Table 1 suggests a major initiative to support what are generally seen as vital sources of “personal and collective strength” (Roberts, 1982, p. 10). However, when funds are distributed to the various cultural communities and organizations (*A Guide to Native Organizations in Alberta*, 1988) and among eight Indian linguistic groups that include the 42% of registered Indians in Alberta

whose mother tongue is an aboriginal language (Jarvis, 1987, p. ix), the net benefit is minimal.

It should also be noted that present cultural program funding is largely a substitute for an Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) proposal in the late 1960s. It advocated the development of an Alberta Indian Education Center (Indian Association of Alberta, n.d.) where the Province's 42 bands would come together to follow a curriculum based on Indian languages and "on research in, and the practice of, Indian traditions and history" (Roberts, 1982, p. 156). The federal government had misgivings about a central facility, its cost especially, and decided instead to fund 10 local cultural centres. Most of these, however, devote much of their time to vocational and professional training. When the levels of cultural funding are contrasted with the scope and strength of mainstream influences, it is clear that, despite the efforts of the IAA and other Indian groups, the cultural and linguistic integrity of Indian communities is under threat of extinction.

Although current allocations indicate that such post school programs as professional and occupational training are reasonably funded, the maintenance of these programs is almost as precarious as those having a cultural orientation. The university and professional allocation has been raised in part because of some 80,000 Bill C-31 (restoration of status) applications ("Indian Affairs Foul-Up," 1988). The call on the Department's resources by those who have regained Indian status will undoubtedly make less post school funding available, particularly to Indians on reserves. Moreover, while Indian Affairs continues to fund education and training for adults, the Department contends that it does not have a statutory responsibility for such programs. Because of the schooling sections of the Treaties and the Indian Act, the Department accepts responsibility for the education of Indian children. It does not consider that it has an obligation to provide other educational or post school programs. The nature of post school programs for Indian adults can therefore be summarized as being decentralized, discretionary, and job oriented. These orientations have been in place since the inception of adult education programs for Indians. The social and economic outcomes resulting from them and other government programs are reviewed in the section that follows.

Socioeconomic Issues

What are the major outcomes of the Indians' historic experience with formal education? Although the level of schooling is only one of the factors that determine social and economic status, successive Indian administrations have held education to be a critical element in helping Indians to become self-supportive. As background to an examination of the current state of Indian education, employment, and income, a brief overview of other social, economic, and demographic conditions is given using data from Siggner and Locatelli (1980) and Jarvis (1987).

Reserve conditions. Seventy-five percent of Alberta's 45,595 registered Indians (1986) live on 90 reserves which on average are the largest in Canada (18,000 acres per reserve), and over 50% of the Province's Indian

bands reside less than 50 kilometers from health and educational services in urban centers. Housing on reserves is relatively new; 61% of reserve dwellings "were built in the decade prior to the 1981 census compared with 47 and 45% of non-Indian and off-reserve Indian dwellings, respectively" (Jarvis, 1987, p. xii). Despite their relative newness reserve houses were in "comparatively inferior condition." Over two fifths were crowded, nearly one quarter needed major repair, slightly over one half had no central heating and more than a third lacked a bathroom. "By contrast, for example, only six percent of non-Indian dwellings lacked central heating and only two percent were without a bathroom" (Jarvis, 1987, p. xiv). The Indian population is more youthful than Alberta's population as a whole. And while "the proportion of Indians aged 0 to 14 is expected to decline by 1991," predictions into the early 1990s indicate that the 0 to 14 proportion will be "15 percentage points higher than the Alberta population" and that "the Indian dependency ratio will be just over one half higher than the ratio for all Albertans" (Jarvis, 1987, pp. vii, viii). The difference between Indian life expectancy and that of the Canadian population has decreased, but it is still approximately 10 years less than other Canadians. Despite declines in the incidence of tuberculosis and infant death, Indian mortality is generally higher than that for non-Indians. The amount of social assistance has dropped in several areas such as children in care on reserves; however, "the number of Indian children adopted increased sevenfold in Alberta between 1971 and 1981, and more of these children, two thirds, in 1981, were adopted by non-Indians than in the past" (Jarvis, 1987, p. xiv). Although North American Indians (Indian and other Native groups) made up only 3.75% of the Province's population in 1981, they comprised nearly 12% of the federal inmate population in Alberta over the 1974 to 1983 period.

Educational Outcomes

Although there have been improvements in Indian schooling outcomes (Signer & Locatelli, 1980, p. 32) and increases in the number of entrants to continuing education programs (Jarvis, 1987, pp. 89-91), it is clear that Indians as a group are still disadvantaged with respect to school attendance and educational achievement. Table 2 below indicates Indian and non-Indian achievement levels in 1981.

When compared with the reference group (Alberta's population less registered Indians), Indian schooling levels are the lowest in every category. Reserve Indians have lower schooling levels than off-reserve Indians. Forty percent of Alberta's Indians, versus 12% of non-Indians, are functionally illiterate; that is, they have achieved less than a grade nine education. High school completion rates show a similar disparity: 56% of non-Indians have completed high school or beyond, more than double the Indian proportion of 25%.

Other data in Jarvis' study show that Indians are more likely to be in grades inappropriate for their age and that 10% of non-Indians versus one percent of Indians have completed university. In the period 1976-1981 a four-fold increase in the number of Band-operated schools occurred,

TABLE 2
Population 15 Years of Age and Over Showing Highest Level of Schooling
Alberta, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling (Col. %)	Registered Indians On-Reserve	Registered Indians Off-Reserve	Total Registered Indians	Reference Population
No schooling or kindergarten	9	2	7	1
Grades 1-8	40	20	33	11
Grades 9-13	34	38	36	32
High school plus	17	40	25	56
Total %	100	100	100	100
No. (000)	13.8	7.9	21.7	1,650.9

Source: Jarvis, 1987, p. 82

amounting to 10% of the registered Indian students, and it is estimated that the percentage is now close to 20. Several Bands have introduced high school programs on reserves, and while this is expected to increase completion rates, no information is available to indicate that this has happened. What is known, however, is that off-reserve Indians attend school more often, reach higher levels of education, and participate more in continuing education programs than Indians on the reserves. In the 15 to 19 age group, 49% of off-reserve Indians were in school, whereas only 34% of on-reserve Indians attended school. In the next age category, 20 to 24, 18% of Indians living off reserve attended school, versus 10% for on-reserve Indians. Despite improvements in the last decade Indian school attendance and educational achievement rates continue to place them in a disadvantaged position particularly with respect to income and employment.

Indian Employment and Income

Indian employment rates and income statistics are normally seen in the context of the values associated with an industrial society. But terms like labor force participation and unemployment may not be appropriate for Indians who follow a traditional lifestyle or who live in remote settlements. An excerpt from a 1984 Statistics Canada report, *Canada's Native People*, is given below to illustrate the nature of these factors:

Many Native people who are living on the land may not show up as participating in the labour force because what they produce is consumed rather than sold in the market-place.... In addition, the isolation of the areas where many Native people live discourages active job search, and thus they may not be counted among the unemployed. (quoted in Jarvis, 1987, p. 94)

There are other definitional limitations in reporting on Indian income and employment. It would be unusual, for example, to consider knowledge of an aboriginal language along with an official language as a job prereq-

uisite, or when analyzing income levels to take into account the collective nature of reserve governance where the central unit of economic involvement is often the Band rather than the individual.

One way of examining Indian incomes is to look at the source of income by residence. Table 3 shows that 12% of the reference population and 27% of registered Indians had no income in 1981. Indians living away from reserves were more likely to have incomes than those on reserves. Twenty-three percent of reserve Indians, versus 8% of the reference population, reported their major source of income to be government transfer payments. Seventy-three percent of non-Indians reported employment income as their major income source, followed by off-reserve Indians at 63%, and Indians living on the reserve at 42%. Government transfer payments are clearly a major source of income for Indians, especially for those living on reserves.

Other data in Jarvis' report indicates that labor force participation is much lower for Indians than for non-Indians and that 40% of Indians were employed compared with 70% of the reference population. In 1980 the average individual Indian income was approximately \$8,300, 56% of the average non-Indian income of \$14,800. Corresponding differences exist in comparing Indian and non-Indian incomes in similar occupations. For example, "The difference in primary occupation income [1980] was \$6,200 in favor of non-Indian men, a 58% difference, and \$3,000, or 70%, for females" (Jarvis, 1987, p. 112). More than twice the proportion of non-In-

TABLE 3
Population 15 Years of Age and Over Showing Major Source of Income
Alberta, 1980

Major Source of Income (Col. %)	Registered Indians On-Reserve	Registered Indians Off-Reserve	Total Registered Indians	Reference Population ¹
Without income	31	20	27	12
With income	69	80	73	88
Employment income ²	42	63	49	73
Government transfer income ³	23	15	20	8
Miscellaneous income	4	2	3	7
Total	100	100	100	100

¹Total population less registered Indians

²Income received as wages and salaries, net income from non-farm self-employment, and/or net farm income

³Income received from all cash transfer payments from all levels of government. Included are family allowances, old age security pensions and guaranteed income supplements from the Canada Pension Plan, Unemployment Insurance and welfare payments, together with income from other government sources.

Source: Jarvis, 1987, p. 113

dian economic families received incomes in 1980 of \$30,000 and up. Only four percent of non-Indian economic families received under \$5,000 in the same year, versus 14% of Indian economic families. Finding a positive correlation between Indian income and education, Jarvis summarizes his analysis as follows: "These findings emphasize the need for greater access to education for Indians. Opportunity to earn substantial income was listed closely with educational opportunities, for the Indian population, especially for those who have moved from the reserve" (Jarvis, 1987, p. 109).

It has been demonstrated that most programs for Indian adults have been seen as adjuncts to school based programs rather than as learning activities of direct benefit to adults. It has also been shown that most vocational and adult programs have facilitated employment for a minority of the Indian adult population and that they have not met the needs of a majority of Indians who continue to experience high levels of social and economic dislocation. The paper's third hypothesis, that most Indian Affairs programs have contributed to the development of exclusive Indian communities, is discussed in the section that follows.

Inclusionary and Exclusionary Models

As has been noted the exclusion-inclusion formula in which Indians were to be held on reserves and educated in boarding schools prior to their eventual emancipation in the wider community was abandoned following the Second World War. According to Hawthorn and Tremblay (1967) the post war period brought an end to the Department's paternalistic attitudes and witnessed a new trend in the federal government's Indian policy:

Initiative on the part of the Indian and the opening of reserves to the outside world was fostered. Indian children began to attend the same schools as Whites. As these first experiments proved successful, efforts were continued in this direction with the particular objective of integrating the Indian into Canadian society. (p. 23)

But the integration ideology began to unravel largely because of Indian opposition to the 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy. The federal government yielded to these pressures when it accepted the principles enunciated in the N.I.B.'s *Indian Control of Indian Education* which involved a fundamental change in direction. The development of reserve schooling under Band auspices was one of the many devolutionary changes in social programming initiated by the Department. The outcomes of the new direction are as yet unclear, but there is evidence that it has led to a new form of exclusion on the reserves.

In this regard Lithman's (1984) discussion is particularly instructive. After outlining two emerging forms of community leadership, the collaborative and the challenging, and the ensuing relationships between government officials and chiefs and councillors, he states that reserve leadership is moving toward the challenging or ethnic incorporation model. The choice, however, is more complex than adherence to a particular paradigm. What is occurring, according to Lithman, is a trend more toward an in-group or opposition ideology. He contends that the opposition ideology leads to a number of benefits. It provides an economic system where transfer payments

allow the opportunity to withdraw from the economic life of the area outside the reserve: "These transfers ensure to many a standard of living which, even if poor, is no worse than what would be the case working in temporary, unskilled jobs in the area" (p. 170). The ideology posits that fundamental differences exist between Indian and Whites: "Through their obsession with money, concern with social rank, their inhumanity when dealing with Indians, their unfairness—in all the Whites are seen by Indians as the very opposite of what a human being would be" (p. 170). In contrast the ideology "prescribes what Indians are and what should guide their interaction" (p. 171). Indian history, languages, and an Indian centered curriculum, Indian teachers, elders, and cultural centers are sought as a means of instilling the young with a sense of pride in their heritage. The opposition ideology also provides an historical interpretation "which sees the Indians' present-day situation as a result of ... the deceit of the White men, most importantly manifested in connection with the treaties" (p. 171). All these orientations reflect a "search for ways whereby the community can be developed, economically and socially, with the community residents in full control" (p. 173).

There is no doubt that this strategy has led to a rise in the standard of living on reserves, but these improvements are not because of increased Indian participation in mainstream economic processes, but rather because of the "compensation the larger society pays for their [the Indians'] exclusion from these processes" (Lithman, 1984, p. 174). Lithman argues that the government's current policy is essentially one of containment. By making reserve communities more inhabitable from an economic point of view, fewer Indians have reason to subject themselves to outside indignities or pressures. By excluding Indians from the wider society and by providing compensation payments to them, the federal government has also lessened the level of public concern about Indian conditions. The exclusion strategy, however, does not address the causes of the continuing plight of many Indians on reserves, but it does show that government is doing something, even if it is "doing too little or the wrong things" (Lithman, 1984, p. 175).

Lithman's concept of an opposition ideology can be seen to be at work in many reserves in Alberta, even in those which have access to substantial oil and gas production revenues (Dion Resource Consulting Services, 1984, pp. 14-19). There are alternative approaches underway, however, which are more in keeping with Lithman's other model, that of collaborative strategy: "The collaboration protagonists would like to see Indians *as individuals* prepare themselves through education, etc., so that they need not have to accept a position inferior to that of the White men" (Lithman, 1984, p. 166). An example of this approach can be found in the *Final Report* (1987) of the Working Group on Native Education, Training, and Employment. The group, composed mainly of Indians and Metis, was commissioned by the Alberta Minister of Municipal Affairs and Career Development and Employment in 1985 "to provide advice and recommendations to the appropriate Ministers on ways of addressing the barriers to education, training, and employment faced by Native people (*Final Report*, 1987, p. 1). The group's

recommendations are all-encompassing and highly collaborative in nature, and they are predicated on a degree of cooperation between government agencies and Native communities which has been proposed on many previous occasions.

Conclusion

It has been shown that most programs for Indian adults have been seen as supplementary to school based programs rather than as learning activities of direct benefit to adults. Even the benefits of existing adult education programs and training for Indians tend to be viewed as accruing largely to the participants' children rather than to themselves. Such a predilection means that the success of such endeavors is not immediately measurable. It has also been demonstrated that programs having an adult and vocational orientation have facilitated employment for few Indian adults and that they have not addressed the needs of the majority who continue to live in poverty and to experience high levels of social and cultural dislocation. Notwithstanding the emphasis that successive Indian administrations have placed on schooling and other educational arrangements, the educational levels of Indian parents and their children are still far below those of other Canadians. Finally it has been argued that the Department of Indian Affairs and other government agencies have fostered exclusionary policies which, although differing in form over time, have remained substantially the same in intent. Exclusion initially involved holding Indians on reserves and in residential schools until they were ready for inclusion in the wider society. As a result of policies initiated in the 1950s to accelerate Indian inclusion, Indian children often found themselves in new exclusionary contexts such as foster care and remedial schooling. More recently Indians have been excluded on reserves where they are sustained by compensation and other containment arrangements. In short the policy of exclusion has been remarkably consistent. The Indian must become non-Indian in order to achieve self-sufficiency or to become self-supportive.

Note

1. The term Indian refers to those Canadians who are registered as Indians by the federal government. It does not include other groups of Native people such as the Métis, Inuit, and non-status Indians. The Indian population of Alberta in 1986 was 45,595.

References

- The agricultural potential of Native communities—Phase 1.* (1986). Edmonton, AB: Group Four Rural Service Corp., Native Affairs Secretariat.
- Annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs.* (1896-1936). Ottawa, ON: King's & Queen's Printer.
- Auletta, K. (1982). *The underclass*. New York: Random House.
- Axtell, J. (1981). *The European and the Indian: Essays on the ethnohistory of colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bond, J.J. (1968). *A report on the pilot relocation program at Elliott Lake, Ontario.* (Submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development). Edmonton, AB: Boreal Institute, University of Alberta.
- Burkholder, H.J. (1986). *The evolution and development of the Community Vocational Centres Program: 1960-1985*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB.

- Canada/Alberta, cooperation on Native (Indian/Metis) development—Memorandum of understanding. (1985, August 29). Edmonton.
- Card, B.Y. (1975). Community vocational centres in northwestern Alberta. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 21(3), 168-182.
- Carney, R. (1982). The road to Heart Lake: Native people, adult learners and the future. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 9(3), 1-13.
- Carney, R., & Simpson, B. (1979). *Institutional evaluation: Community vocational centres*. Edmonton, AB: Department of Advanced Education and Manpower.
- Chrétien, J. (1973, February 2). *Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to G. Manuel (President of the National Indian Brotherhood)*. Ottawa, ON: Department of I.A.N.D. files.
- Citizens Plus. (1970). *Indian Chiefs of Alberta*. Edmonton, AB.
- Development plan. (1984, October). Community Vocational Centres of Alberta.
- Dion, J.F. (1979). *My tribe the Crees*. Calgary, AB: Glenbow Institute.
- Dion Resource Consulting Services. (1984). *Indian lands: Social impact of petroleum activity*. Edmonton, AB: Prepared for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- Elliott Lake: Indian relocation. (1967). Challenge for Change Series. Montreal, PQ: National Film Board.
- Final report—Working group on Native education training and employment. (1987, December). Edmonton, AB: Department of Municipal Affairs.
- Gooderham, G.K. (1965). Prospect. In L.G.P. Waller (Ed.), *The education of Indian children in Canada* (pp. 95-103). Toronto, ON: Ryerson Press.
- A guide to Native organizations in Alberta. (1988, January). Edmonton, AB: Department of Municipal Affairs.
- Harper, A.G. (1945). Canada's Indian administration: Basic concepts and objectives. *America Indigena*, 5(2), 121-132.
- Hawthorn, H.B., & Tremblay, M.A. (1967). *A survey of the contemporary Indians of Canada, Vol. 2*. Ottawa, ON: Indian Affairs Branch.
- Indian Affairs foul-up. (1988, April 7). *Edmonton Journal*, p. A1.
- Indian Association of Alberta. (n.d.). *Alberta Indian Education Center*.
- Indian Association of Alberta. (1945). *Memorial to the Government of Canada*. Oblate Records, Provincial Archives of Alberta.
- Indian band fights for its children. (1982, February 26). *Edmonton Journal*, pp. B1, B2.
- Indian School Bulletin*. (1951, January). Ottawa, ON: Department of Citizenship and Immigration.
- Institutional self-study of the Community Vocational Centres*. (1979, January). Edmonton, AB: Department of Advanced Education.
- Jarvis, G.K. (1987). *An overview of registered Indian conditions in Alberta*. Ottawa, ON: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Lithman, Y.G. (1984). *The community apart: A case study of a Canadian Indian Reserve community*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Mabindisa, I.K. (1984). *The praying man: The life and times of Henry Bird Steinhauer*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB.
- McEwen, E.R. (1968). *Community development services for Canadian Indian and Metis communities*. Toronto: Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada.
- Morris, A. (1880). *The treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories*. Toronto: Belfords, Clarke.
- National Indian Brotherhood. (1972). *Indian control of Indian education*. Ottawa.
- Post School Program in Alberta*. (1971-72). Edmonton, AB: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- Proceedings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act*. (1946-1948). Ottawa, ON: King's & Queen's Printer.
- Ray, A. (1974). *Indians in the Fur Trade: 1660-1870*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Ray, A. (1981, October 26). *The Natives are our assets: We must keep them for future profits, debt and welfare in the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade, 1670-1930*. Public lecture, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB.

- Report on the affairs of the Indians in Canada. (1847). *Journal of the Assembly of the Province of Canada*.
- Roberts, H. (1982). *Culture and adult education: A study of Quebec and Alberta*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Siggner, A., & Locatelli, C. (1980). *An overview of demographic, social and economic conditions among Alberta's registered Indian population*. Ottawa, ON: Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.
- Thomas, A.M. (1981). Education: Reformation and research in the '80s? In J.D. Wilson (Ed.), *Canadian education in the 1980s* (pp. 251-267). Calgary, AB: Detsilig Enterprises.
- Treaty and supplementary Treaty No. 7 made 22nd September and 4th December, 1877 between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfoot and other Indian tribes at the Blackfoot crossing of Bow River and Fort MacLeod*. (1966). Ottawa, ON: Queen's Printer.
- Trussler, N.E. (1971). *Education programs for Indian adults in Southern Alberta*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB.
- White Paper—Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*. (1969). Ottawa, ON: Queen's Printer.
- Winters, R.H. (1951). Education goes north. *Canadian Geographical Journal*, 42(1), 44-49.
- Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. (1970). *A declaration of Indian rights*. Vancouver, BC.

PABLO LATAPÍ

*Regional Center for Literacy Training and Adult Education
in Latin America (CREFAL), Mexico*

Participatory Research: A New Research Paradigm?

Participatory Research (PR) is becoming more widely known among adult educators as well as social researchers. The author explains its origins linked to the Latin American experiences of the so-called "popular education" and describes its characteristics. The criticisms of its supporters against prevailing social research are then presented. A critical examination of PR follows which points out its insufficiencies and ambiguities. Based on these, the claim that PR constitutes a new research paradigm for the social sciences is dismissed. This notwithstanding, it is concluded that some useful lessons should be drawn from PR for improving present social research practice.

The history of Participatory Research (PR) is inherently connected to the experiences of adult education and specifically to popular education in Latin America. These experiences have been the departure point for PR and have constituted the major source of input into the gradual shaping of this new approach to researching social reality.

Adult education in Latin America has a different connotation from the concept currently used in industrialized countries. It is not related to education where adults are retrained for new occupations or to the education that fills leisure time with the enhancement of cultural interests. In Latin America, it is a form of education to teach survival skills to an ever-growing part of the population that lives under the "poverty line" or even in extreme destitution.¹

In the last four decades, adult education in Latin America has followed the orientations of UNESCO in shifting its emphasis from "fundamental education" to "functional education" and then from "community development" to "permanent education." Some critics (Barquera, 1982; La Belle, 1976) have shown that such emphases, promoted by UNESCO and other international agencies, were dictated by the economic changes required to adjust the development of the Latin American region to the international division of labor. The educational programs resulting from this international orientation were based theoretically on the functionalist view that all social systems are, by nature, stable and that a change in one of its components requires compensatory adjustments in all of its other elements, until it again reaches a functional equilibrium.

In the early 1970s, as a reaction to the failures of the conventional approaches to adult education, a different type of education termed "popular

Dr. Latapí is Coordinator of Educational Policy at CREFAL in Patzcuaro and is a recipient of the Maracaibo Award for the best American educator given by the Organization of American States.

education” began to develop. Some theorists consider the origin of popular education to be the natural evolution of Paulo Freire’s ideas on consciousness raising. Still others consider the need for social mobilization and political preparation for revolutionary change as the main origin. No doubt, these and the following factors contributed to its emergence: Catholicism’s liberation theology, social analysis of the “dependency” theorists, revitalization of the neo-Marxian views of Antonio Gramsci, and the gradual realization of the importance of cultural revolutions. In one way or another, these and other factors favored the emergence of a utopian “liberation ideal” of the poor, and this gave rise to popular education (Castillo & Latapí, 1983; La Belle, 1986).

This new type of adult education has the following characteristics:

1. Popular education starts from the reality of the deprived classes, focusing on the features of their social and economic context that conditions their survival.
2. It intends to lead to a transformation process, aimed at changing the living conditions of the poor. In order to achieve this, it must promote their organization and solidarity.
3. It implies a class perspective and a political dimension. It intends to empower the poor and bring forth changes in their social position.
4. Consequently, popular education always works with groups, not with individuals. As a social process incorporating reflection and action among people with common interests and expectations, it can develop only in the context of dialogue.
5. The teacher-learner relationship is horizontal and mutual: adults learn from the facilitator, and he or she, in turn, from the adults.
6. The educational process is based on participation: The group should reach its own decisions regarding its development and the activities to be undertaken.

Popular education was the appropriate milieu for the birth of PR. Its practice led to the acknowledgment of the potential of popular groups for self-discovery. These experiences were accompanied by a theoretical effort aimed at clarifying what would become a new research approach for the social sciences. Several successive stages occurred through which the concept of PR became more refined: thematic research (the original approach of Freire, 1981); action research (Fals Borda, 1980); militant research which emphasized the political component (Darcy de Oliveira & Darcy de Oliveira, 1981); and finally, participatory research (De Schutter, 1986; Hall, 1982), which some call participatory action research.

Important contributions to this process of theoretical clarification also came from the industrialized countries, namely: “action sociology,” developed under the auspices of the School of Frankfurt (Habermas, Adorno), that questioned the conventional social research approach based on positivist and empiricist assumptions; dialectic and hermeneutical views that suggested different epistemological foundations; and new evaluation methods that emphasized qualitative aspects. In this way, several re-

searchers from Italy, Holland, the United States, and other countries made both theoretical and practical contributions to the emerging PR approach (Hall, 1982).

Characteristics of Participatory Research

PR has an eminently practical purpose: It intends to produce change. That is why some authors see its germ in Marxian reflections: Until now philosophers have tried to interpret the world; the important thing is to transform it. PR should be understood as a reaction to the futility of conventional research whose contributions to social change in less developed countries have been negligible. It intends to put into the hands of the oppressed the knowledge necessary for them to bring forth better living conditions.

Consequently, PR is carried on by the oppressed. It is contended that, organized in groups, they will discover the forces of their oppression and will undertake actions to overcome them. The role of the external educator is not to conduct the research process, only to support it as a facilitator.

While conventional research draws a clear line between *subject* (the researcher) and *object* (social reality), PR contends that researchers are part of the social reality, they affect this reality and, in turn, it affects their behavior. Therefore, subject and object are identified.

PR often is initiated with the identification of a problem that the participants have in common. The problem may be a lack of health facilities, unemployment, lack of water, or hostile attitudes of local authorities. The group tries to understand the problem by analyzing its causes. The process often challenges the generally accepted ideas and conventional explanations regarding the root causes of their reality. Gradually some alternative solutions emerge from the analytical discussion, and the group chooses one of the alternatives around which to organize its actions. As these actions are carried out, the group reflects on the outcomes, draws conclusions, and enhances its knowledge of social reality.

Within such a process, three essential dimensions may be distinguished: (a) research, that is, the gradual discovery of new knowledge (at least for the participants in the process); (b) action, as a component of the process that moves from practice to reflection and from reflection to practice; and (c) education, because the group gains a better understanding of social facts and improves its capacity for reflection and analysis.

Two problems should be noted in this regard. First, the interlinking of these three dimensions brings about a certain confusion. Some authors emphasize the research character of PR and put forth its potential value as an alternative approach to analyzing social reality. For example, Fals Borda (1980) focuses his ideas on the value of popular knowledge and proposes the development of a "popular science" that is opposed to prevailing forms of science. Other authors stress the educational dimension of PR. Its capacity for leading to new knowledge is secondary to the behavioral changes brought about in the participants.

A second problem concerns the relationship between research and action. In the practice of popular education, the cycle of reflection-action-

reflection is applied to concrete issues, mostly in a short-term perspective. This prevents a systematic integration of knowledge, which is an essential trait of the accepted notion of science.

Modes of Participation

In PR, participation is essential, but not any type of participation. We may recall that some kind of participation may be present in conventional social research, as well. One author (Rubin de Celis, 1981) distinguishes the following modes of participation in social research in general:

1. Returning information back to the people who have been studied. This form of participation is typical in community development projects. Participation in this case is limited.
2. Allowing people to participate in the collection of data. In some conventional techniques this process is aimed at inducing organization. It is also a limited form of participation.
3. Inviting people to participate in the entire research process of a particular study to be conducted by a professional researcher. Participants may modify the purpose and the general design of the study, as well as influence the interpretation of data. Even so, participation is still limited as the professional researcher maintains the ultimate control over the process and the product.
4. Incorporating people in the determination of the subject matter and participating throughout the entire process of the study. Although participation is more extensive in this case, the research process is still considered a matter for "experts."
5. Encouraging a group to take the entire research process in its own hands and carry it on through continual self-reflection. In this case, the professional researcher, if one is present, plays only a complementary role as a resource person.

Although only the last mode would be considered proper PR, it is clear that participation may take place in research at all these various levels. In practice, one may find many cases in which participatory and conventional research techniques are mixed. For this reason, some authors do not present PR as sharply opposed to empirical, quantitative research, but rather as an alternative approach that is more apt to capture qualitative aspects of reality and involve people in social action.

Participatory Research as a Reaction to Conventional Research

PR claims to be not only an educational methodology for the adult poor, but also a scientific alternative which will make social research more adequate and meaningful. What are the criticisms raised against prevailing social research? How valid are they?

Social sciences had the misfortune of being latecomers in the history of modern science. They grew up as a deliberate methodology when the natural sciences had already reached a certain degree of maturity. That is why they unconsciously strived to imitate the basic paradigm of natural science. In their effort to be considered *real* sciences, they assumed the basic

concepts, mental processes, and even methods of natural science, with little consideration that their object—social phenomena—differed from natural phenomena. (Actually, they have not been entirely successful in their ambition; *hard* scientists still consider them *soft* sciences.)

The following statements summarize the characteristics of the prevailing positivist paradigm of social research:

1. The purpose of science is the increase of knowledge; knowledge is useful for predicting and explaining events for the purpose of controlling them.
2. Reality is objective; it exists independent of observation. Scientific grasping of reality requires measures that prevent spurious influences that distort facts. Research must be *objective*.
3. Scientific research requires a method. Although there are different research methods and techniques, the research process always requires a theoretical framework, hypotheses to be tested, data collection, interpretation, revision of hypotheses, and reproducibility of findings. Only then can the accumulation of knowledge take place.
4. Evidence and findings must be expressed, whenever possible, in mathematical terms. Even the assessment of qualitative realities must be expressed in quantitative indicators, otherwise scientists are exposed to subjective biases.
5. Research is a specialized activity reserved for trained professionals.

Supporters of PR raise the following five criticisms of this paradigm as applied to the social sciences:

1. The purpose of science is not only knowledge, but also the improvement of the quality of life. Established social research has been useful only to the powerful who can pay for and use it. It rarely results in benefits for the common people.
2. In prevailing practice, research topics are chosen either by policy makers and funding agencies in accordance with their interests or by researchers influenced by motivations of professional prestige. That is why most research turns out to be irrelevant to everyday life.
3. Social facts differ sharply from natural facts in two aspects: social facts are less determinate because they are affected by human intentions, and they are necessarily altered by the researcher who approaches them. (This happens in natural science too, but to a far lesser extent.)
4. *Neutral* research of social facts is impossible. Knowledge is inevitably influenced by the prejudices, values, interests, and personal limitations of researchers. The effort to be *objective*, to establish a *distance* from social reality, often leads to overlooking essential characteristics.
5. Control of research by professionals has produced a monopoly on knowledge. Social knowledge, by its very nature, should be owned and used by ordinary people.

These are the basic criticisms raised against prevailing social research. Most PR supporters do not deny the validity and usefulness of certain methods and techniques, but they propose a fundamentally different approach to the

problem of producing and integrating social knowledge. They also contend that participation and group discussion facilitate a better understanding of social facts: first, that action oriented toward transforming reality is a great help in directing the research process; and second, that there are moral and political responsibilities in social research because knowledge belongs to the people and should be used by them for improving their lives (Barquera, 1986).

Many of these criticisms regarding established research emerged from the practice of popular education. Educational practitioners tried to close the gap between researchers and people. They encouraged the use of anthropological and historical methods which involved the participation of the community, and they developed a special concern for evaluating qualitative aspects of their educational practice. Above all, they increasingly demonstrated that ordinary people had a great capacity for understanding and analyzing their social reality.

It is not unusual to find authors who contend that PR necessarily relies on the principles of historical materialism; that it draws on dialectics to explain its epistemological foundations; that it explains the relationship between knowledge and action from the Marxian perspective of the transformation of reality through human work; and that it stresses the implications of knowledge for class struggle. However, this interpretation does not seem essential to PR, which may refer to some Marxian concepts without necessarily assuming Marxian philosophy in its entirety.

Critique of Participatory Research

An experimental proposal such as PR presents many unsolved problems and ambiguities of a philosophical, epistemological, and methodological nature (Latapí, 1986).

Philosophical Problems

The concept of science. Supporters of PR rarely define their concept of science. At times, they give the impression of accepting any type of knowledge as scientific knowledge. The examples often used refer either to the knowledge which adults develop when reflecting on concrete and local problems (lack of water, low prices for their goods, and so forth) or to their traditional knowledge (such as the history of their community, its legends and myths, health practices, or agricultural techniques).

However, not all knowledge is scientific. Scientific knowledge requires methodological rigor, theoretical foundations, validation, systematization. The "modest science" proposed by Fals Borda does not reach beyond the documentation of social facts, which would demand elaboration at a higher level in order to be scientific.

It is understandable that PR, as a reaction against contemporary social science, has an anti-intellectual component. But anti-intellectual attitudes are hard to reconcile with science. The Chinese Cultural Revolution illustrates this.

Action as a source of scientific knowledge. It cannot be denied that social action contributes to a better understanding of social reality. But it seems

excessive to consider action as the primary source of knowledge. Rarely do we find among supporters of PR detailed recording and analysis of the types of action involved. It is evident that not all types are equally relevant for producing scientific knowledge, even though they are effective for transforming reality.

Relationship between theory and practice. The dialectic principle that knowledge stems from *praxis* (that is from the synthesis of theory and practice) leads promoters of PR to suppress the distinction between doing and thinking. They overlook knowledge as having its own nature and the fact that science is centered around intellectual claims, whether or not we accept the contribution of practice to discover knowledge.

Class position and science. Some authors (especially Marxists) contend that knowledge produced by the oppressed classes is the only valid knowledge. It is certainly important that these classes elaborate a critical view of dominant knowledge from their own class perspective. But by even acknowledging that any scientific approach implies class assumptions, the validity of scientific truth cannot be tied to a particular class position without perverting the very notion of science.

Epistemological Problems

Confusion of researcher and phenomena researched. The contention that the researcher and the phenomena researched become the same thing because the researcher becomes part of the social reality is more rhetorical than real. It is true that in PR, researchers consider themselves part of the research object, but the act of knowing always implies a duality; we are knowing subject and knowing object, at least in two different moments. This distinction should not be overlooked.

Action as a criterion of truth. The proposition that action is a criterion of truth may be valid regarding political, efficiency-oriented actions, but it seems excessive to extend this claim to all social knowledge. For example, a group may study the change of the birth rate in its community and through a census reconstruct its demographic pyramid according to age groups. Which would be, in this case, the action through which the validity of the findings can be checked? It is evident that not all scientific conclusions concerning social issues can be proved through action.

In this regard, many other questions remain unanswered. What particular actions are we referring to for validity? Why is action a validity criterion? Why only action? How are we to apply the outcomes of action to certain knowledge contents?

Knowledge and power. It is a basic tenet of PR that knowledge leads to power. This is an assumption that still lacks sound theoretical explanations. What kind of knowledge? What kind of power? Besides, it seems that, along with knowledge, there are many other factors in the complex process of building up social power.

Methodological Problems

Vagueness of "participation." Many authors indulge too easily in the rhetoric of participation without due consideration to the many ways in

which participation occurs or to the different aspects of participation which should be taken into account. One should inquire about the purpose of participation, its organizational basis, the initiator of the process, the roles of the group members, the distribution and use of information, the control of the process, its rhythm and duration, the way in which consensus is reached, and so on (Zuñiga, 1986). For lack of analyses based on such considerations, PR is still far from being a rigorous research method.

Role of the professional researcher. Despite the insistence of PR supporters on having the educator or professional researcher develop a horizontal relationship to the group, in practice this is difficult to achieve. The professional researcher maintains a directive role that cannot be denied. The researchers have an overall understanding of the research process, they are more familiar with abstract thinking, and they are expected to assist the group and to provide the necessary tools. All this supports the existence of a certain superiority and entails the risk of paternalism and manipulation.

Research techniques. The practice of PR evidences another limitation. A group of adults with very little, if any, formal schooling, that tries to study an issue is able to use only simple research techniques. This is hard to reconcile with the claims of PR in achieving levels of analysis and abstract thinking that will contribute to *new* scientific knowledge.

Adoption of "conventional" research techniques. Most supporters of PR agree that this new form of research methodology may utilize some conventional research techniques, mostly quantitative ones. However, they have not established a clear criterion for selecting them. It still remains unknown why some techniques are considered compatible with the principles of PR and others are not.

Systematization and accumulation of knowledge. Finally, there is an important methodological issue as yet unresolved in PR. The process of scientific knowledge requires synthesis, systematization, and accumulation. It is a difficulty, to say the least, that PR carried out by local groups on isolated, concrete topics may reach the levels of integration and synthesis required, so as to supplant the knowledge obtained by established social research. In other words, PR may be suitable for reaching conclusions on local situations, but such conclusions require a further treatment in order to obtain broader validity.

The Basic Dilemma

There are few major objections to accepting PR as an educational methodology; it is evident that the adult poor enhance their capacity for self-analysis and organization by reflecting systematically on their practice. But it is with the contention of PR that it be considered a rigorous research procedure that uncomfortable questions arise. For some of its supporters it is an *alternative* to prevailing research, with strict academic claims. A number of theorists contend it is an emerging paradigm which will revolutionize social science. There are even a few who speak of a *popular science* which will supplant conventional social science. These claims identify the central issue: Is it valid to consider PR as an alternative paradigm capable of redirecting so-

cial research in the future? Or is it only a fad to be dismissed, more rhetorical than solid in its tenets?

Let us recall Kuhn's (1971) views on scientific paradigms. For him a paradigm consists of a set of principles, categories, and assumptions which regulate research activities during a certain period of time and provide models and tools to the scientific community. In the development of modern natural science he observes a succession of such paradigms. When a dominant paradigm begins to prove unsatisfactory due to growing numbers of anomalies, a new paradigm emerges and finally replaces the preceding one. This change he calls a "revolution" for two reasons that are similar to the way political revolutions occur. First, a feeling of growing dissatisfaction must precede and prepare for the change, and second, this change must challenge the institutions which sustain present research activities. Dissatisfaction with the prevailing paradigm may come either from criticisms of the theory itself that no longer explain the facts, or from the realization that the topics being researched are no longer relevant.

In my opinion, the insufficiencies of PR that were discussed concerning the concept of science, the relationship between action and knowledge, and the relationship between theory and practice, tend to dismiss the notion that PR is a new scientific paradigm.

This does not mean, however, that all of its elements are to be dismissed. Established social research can learn some important lessons from PR, such as the following:

1. Social facts differ from natural facts; they are not *given* but they are socially constructed through the interaction of people, and hence they are less determinate.
2. The pretension of being *neutral* in the approach to social reality is unsupportable; values necessarily permeate and condition our knowledge to a much larger extent than in natural science.
3. There are many important elements in social reality such as feelings, values, or intentions of people that influence social processes. To understand these elements, qualitative approaches are needed, even if the findings cannot be expressed quantitatively.
4. Personal involvement and even commitment of the researcher to the people do not necessarily hamper research objectivity; it may, in fact, enhance it by bringing the researcher closer to the social actors.
5. *Applied* social research should be concerned with the transformation of reality. The researcher who does this type of research should offer its findings to the people responsible for carrying out such transformation.
6. People's participation in the research process should be fostered whenever possible; often it upgrades the quality of the knowledge obtained and contributes to making it useful for all participants.

These six lessons imply a profound revision of prevailing social research practice. In fact, they imply a criticism of the positivistic approach dominant in contemporary social science. But this criticism has not yet led

to construing an alternative research paradigm, as contended by some supporters of PR.

Note

1. About 40% of the Latin American population (112 million people) live under the “poverty line”; that is, they do not have the capacity to minimally satisfy their basic needs, and 19% (53 million) live “in destitution,” which means they cannot satisfy their basic nutritional needs (Altimir, 1979).

References

- Altimir, O. (1979). La dimensión de la pobreza en América Latina. *Cuadernos de la CEPAL*, 27, Santiago.
- Barquera, H. (1982). Las principales propuestas pedagógicas en América Latina. In A. Castillo & P. Latapí (Eds.), *Lecturas sobre educación de adultos en América Latina* (pp. 13-38). Patzcuaro, Mexico: CREFAL.
- Barquera, H. (1986). Una revisión sintética de la investigación participativa. In C. Picón (Coord.), *Investigación participativa: Algunos aspectos críticos y problemáticos* (pp. 33-72). Patzcuaro, Mexico: CREFAL.
- Castillo, A., & Latapí, P. (1983). *Educación no formal de adultos en América Latina: Situación actual y perspectivas*. Santiago: UNESCO-OREALC.
- Darcy de Oliveira, M., & Darcy de Oliveira, R. (1981). Pesquisa social e ação educativa. In C. Brandão (Ed.), *Pesquisa Participante* (pp. 17-33). São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Brasiliense.
- De Schutter, A. (1986). *Investigación participativa: Una opción metodológica para la educación de adultos*. Patzcuaro, Mexico: CREFAL.
- Fals Borda, O. (1980). *Theoretical aspects of participatory action research: Reflections on the meaning and role of science in people's participation*. Paris: UNESCO (3274-ETD-31).
- Freire, P. (1981). Criando métodos de pesquisa alternativa. In C. Brandão (Ed.), *Pesquisa participante* (pp. 34-41). São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Brasiliense.
- Hall, B. (1982). Breaking the monopoly of knowledge: Research methods, participation and development. In B. Hall, A. Gillette, & R. Tandon (Eds.), *Creating knowledge: A monopoly?* New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Kuhn, T.S. (1971). *La estructura de las revoluciones científicas*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- La Belle, T.J. (1976). *Nonformal education and social change in Latin America*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center.
- La Belle, T.J. (1986). *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, reform or revolution?* New York: Praeger.
- Latapí, P. (1986). Algunas observaciones sobre la investigación participativa. In C. Picón (Coord.), *Investigación participativa: Algunos aspectos críticos y problemáticos* (pp. 125-131). Patzcuaro, Mexico: CREFAL.
- Rubin de Celis, E. (1981). Investigación científica vs. investigación participativa: Reflexiones en torno a una falsa disyuntiva. In O. Fals Borda et al. (Eds.), *Investigación participativa y praxis rural* (pp. 121-136). Lima: Mosca Azul.
- Zuñiga, L. (1986). *La investigación participativa: Antecedentes para una consideración crítica*. In C. Picón (Coord.), *Investigación participativa: Algunos aspectos críticos y problemáticos* (pp. 87-124). Patzcuaro, Mexico: CREFAL.

M. KAZIM BACCHUS

and

CARLOS A. TORRES

University of Alberta

Framework for a Comparative Study of Adult Education Policy Implementation in Mexico, Tanzania, and Alberta¹

The authors describe a comparative study of adult education policy implementation underway in Alberta, Mexico, and Tanzania. They outline the rationale and research dimensions of the project. An explanation is given of how the world view and values (system of meanings) of policy makers, adult education teachers, and adult learners will be examined. Provisions for analyzing structures of communication, channels of participation, policy planning rationales, and self-assessments of the impact of adult education programs on development are also noted. Some of the assumptions and research questions guiding the study are identified.

Research in adult education tends to be aggregative and “technicist oriented” with a narrow focus. These features characterize an otherwise commendable study by Bhola (1984) and are the most frequently heard criticisms of similar comparative research carried out in adult education to date (Bacchus, 1976; La Belle, 1986; Wagner, 1986). An analysis of the values and expectations of the different actors involved in the process of policy making and program development is usually neglected. This article describes a research project that seeks to overcome this shortcoming by examining the world view and values of policy makers, adult education teachers, and adult education clientele in order to discern how these values are reflected in policy making activities and program development with regard to adult education—especially in relation to the clients’ expectations.

Initially, it may appear that the research project falls within the realm of what has been traditionally defined as studies of political culture. But this is not the case. In political science, the notion of political culture largely originates from a liberal, pluralist, and functionalist/theoretical approach. This approach has been presented in the book by Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture* (1963), which has become a paradigmatic work, especially in terms of elucidating the concept of political culture. An attempt to further the use of the concept of political culture for comparative political studies is

Dr. Bacchus is Chairman of the Department of Educational Foundations, and Dr. Torres is International Coordinator of this research project.

made in Pye and Verba's *Political Culture and Political Development* (1965). Political culture is defined as the particular pattern of orientation in which every political system is embedded. As Verba states, the political culture "consists of a system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place" (Pye & Verba, 1965, p. 513).

In this research project, however, the notion of political culture is considered to be instrumental. It does not consist merely of a system of ideas and representations, or simply a system of cognitive-emotional patterns. It also involves a series of *material practices*, as Poulantzas, from a diametrically opposed perspective, argues. The political culture embraces "the customs and lifestyle of the agents and setting like cement in the totality of social (including political and economic) practices" (Poulantzas, 1978, p. 28). This investigation also differs from studies in political culture in that it relies on neither traditional attitudinal survey research nor the measurement of values through attitude scales. A more qualitative approach including intensive interviews is used to examine these variables.

Furthermore, this study is different in scope and objectives from an investigation that attempts to analyze policy making from the perspective of organizational studies and input-output studies. It departs as well from a conventional socio-functional analysis of policy making (e.g., based on the notion of the black box) and from the type of social-conflict analysis advanced by postpluralist political scientists and economists of education (Carnoy & Levin, 1985). Rather, the central concern of this research is to examine whether the perceived goals of adult basic education and skill upgrading programs differ from one group of "actors" to another in Mexico, Tanzania, and Alberta.

Site Selection and Approach

Why were these three research settings selected for comparison? The most important criteria for selecting these three societies were their different socio-economic and political features. According to the CIDA's recently released map, "A Developing World," and based on a United Nation's classification, Mexico is characterized as a *developing country* with 82,964,000 people, a gross national product (GNP) per capita of \$2,080 US, and a life expectancy at birth of 67.2 years. Tanzania, on the other hand, with a much smaller population (24,186,000), a gross national product per capita of \$270 U.S., and a life expectancy at birth of 41.9 years is considered among the *least developed countries*. Finally, Canada, with a population of 25,963,000, a GNP per capita of \$13,670 US, and a life expectancy at birth of 76.3 years is defined as a *developed country*. From a different theoretical perspective, based on Wallterstein's World System Approach, Canada is identified as a *core country*, Mexico as a *semi-peripheral country*, and Tanzania as a *peripheral country* (Chirot, 1977, pp. 6-11, 137-140, 208-214).

In political terms, Canada is a parliamentary democracy with pluralist party competition. Mexico is formally a parliamentary democracy but with a dominant ruling party. The Institutionalized Revolutionary Party (PRI) has consistently gained a substantial majority and held the reins of power, na-

tionally and provincially, for the last 60 years. Tanzania, with a monoparty system, has defined its model of political development as one of self-reliance, sometimes considered to be a kind of fabian-socialist model (Un-sicker, 1987).

A striking fact to any adult educator is the relatively high quality of adult education programs and experiences in the three countries. This observation gave rise to the general questions which helped to launch this inquiry. Why have these societies, despite the differences in their socio-economic structure, political culture, institutional history, and modes of governance, achieved such outstanding standards in their adult education programs? Do they have a common core of problems that they still need to address in literacy training, adult basic education, and skill upgrading programs?

In the case of literacy training and adult basic education in Mexico and Tanzania, their example has been influential in other countries. Mexico undertook one of the first successful mass literacy campaigns of this century. Although evidence is scarce, there is reason to believe that the Mexican literacy campaign of 1944-1946 that made 1,134,419 persons literate was influential in the design and the organization of the Cuban campaign, which is considered by many as one of the most successful in Latin America. Also, the involvement of Jaime Torres Bodet (who, as Minister of Education, was the mastermind behind the Mexican campaign) in the founding of UNESCO probably influenced the earlier stages of UNESCO's orientation toward literacy training. Tanzania's mass literacy campaign, as reported in Bhola (1984), was one of the most successful experiments in literacy training in the World Experimental Plan for Literacy of UNESCO. The speeches and writings of Tanzania's former President, the philosopher Julius Nyerere, have been highly inspirational and influential in international circles (Nyerere, 1973). Due to his contributions to adult education, Nyerere was invited to be the first honorary Chairperson of the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) based in Toronto. Former Mexican President Luis Echeverria has most been recently appointed honorary Chairperson of ICAE.

Accordingly, a study of these three countries, with great diversity in their socio-cultural and economic milieu but which share high standards in their adult education programs and similar problems, can provide valuable insights for practitioners and scholars engaged in developing adult education projects. Adult education, as a field for experimentation, practice, and research, is an international field. Yet rarely has there been an in-depth comparative analysis like this one.

Research Focus

Focusing on the expectations and values as well as on the roles of social actors—policy makers, teachers, and learners—in adult education policy formation and program development should yield insights about many aspects of this process. For example, although it may not be possible to identify in detail the actual process by which policies emerge and programs are

developed, it will be possible to pinpoint where the exchanges and interactions occur between different social actors in the institutions that are responsible for the implementation of adult education policies. Similarly, it will be possible to clarify the main channels of communication and how the process of feedback is established. Moreover, this focus facilitates the assessment of the goals and expectations of the clientele, their degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the programs, and the self-perceived short-term economic returns of adult education.

Thus the study seeks to identify the real links and relationships between three different sets of social actors in adult education. It will attempt to determine the extent to which problems in this interaction ("noises" in the communication among themselves as well as contradictory values, goals, and objectives) could explain what are perceived as inconsistencies in the planning and operation of these programs (Bhola, 1984). Consideration will also be given to the relationship between the structure of communication and the level of satisfaction or frustration of the clientele with the cognitive and social outcomes of the programs. Some evidence derived from self-assessment will be offered about the perceived value of the skills and cognitive knowledge that are expected to accrue from literacy training, skill, and general education upgrading programs in Alberta, Tanzania, and Mexico. Finally, the study proposes to analyze the short-term changes, if any, which have occurred in the clients' lifestyles as a result of their participation in the various programs.

Obviously, this investigation will not yield a complete and systematic picture of the overall process of policy making. Our efforts will center on the different social actors, their expectations and value orientation,² and the interactions (contradictions, conflicts, basic agreements) among them. The study of this interaction will not involve a role-status or a psychological-attitudinal approach. Instead, it will focus on the actors' world views (e.g., behavioral ethics, language patterns, and linguistic style) as three sharply differentiated "cultural capitals."³ On the basis of empirical research in Latin America and the Caribbean (Arnone, 1987; La Belle, 1986; Torres, 1987), it is anticipated that in addition to opposing value orientations in the different social actors in adult education, there will be contrasting cultural capitals interacting in the same set of institutions and programs (Carney, 1984).

The underlying assumption is that personal goals and values of individuals (actors) in different roles in adult education, as well as alternative cultural capitals, will make a difference in the way that the system is organized and operates. In this regard, the study has the limitation that it is not designed as a historical-chronological analysis. However, it offers a photographic presentation of contemporary adult education and how programs in this field are developed as seen through the lenses of three groups of social actors over a two year period who have experienced three different programs in the varied social settings of central and northern Alberta, and in rural and urban areas in Tanzania and Mexico. Such a microanalysis provides many opportunities to gain a variety of insights into

the policy making process and to determine the influence of the variables involved. It should illuminate where the emphasis ought to be placed in a more structural-institutional analysis of policy in the future, and perhaps how to use qualitative and quantitative approaches to complement historical and political analysis of aggregate data.⁴

Theoretical Approach and Research Dimensions

Target groups for this research are adult education policy makers, teachers, and adults enrolled in selected programs of literacy training, skill upgrading, and general education programs in Canada, Tanzania, and Mexico. Policy makers are the top officials in charge of the institutions, including those responsible for setting up the programs and making the decisions (from routine administrative decisions to the policy decisions of establishing and implementing the program). Adult education teachers are those persons instructing in the different programs that are examined in various communities. They include professional and paraprofessional teachers as well as volunteer instructors. Care will be taken to sample both the more experienced and the less experienced instructors. The adult education clientele is drawn from the students enrolled in the selected programs who are predominantly working class and native people.

The following information will be gathered about policy makers: (a) social background and profile,⁵ (b) system of meanings and values, (c) ideology or world view,⁶ (d) policy planning rationale,⁷ (e) knowledge of adult education as a field of study, (f) cultural capital, and (g) perceptions of adult education and its contribution to national development.

The notion of cultural capital is important to the study and warrants some clarification. Following Pierre Bourdieu (1977), cultural capital could be considered: (a) a number of meanings and values, (b) qualities or styles of social and cultural interaction, (c) modes or patterns of thinking, or (d) types of dispositions that are constituted in the system which give origin to the "habitus" of an individual. Accepting the theoretical construct of cultural capital, how can a policy maker's cultural capital be described? How does it differ from that of the other two target groups?

Meanings and values will be assessed using Kluckhohn's (1961) analysis of value orientation. *Quality of social and cultural interaction* will be detected through interviewing about social networking, family relationships, institutional affiliations, and the like. *Modes or patterns of thinking*, perhaps the more difficult to assess without a quasi-experimental research design and comprehensive historical analysis (structural biographies or life stories), will be discerned from responses to hypothetical scenarios on basic issues in policy planning such as funding alternatives, mechanisms for increasing motivation, and the participation of learners in the process. The concept of habitus is perhaps the most complex of those proposed by Bourdieu because it demands an historical-structural analysis rather than taking the individual as the unit of analysis. In view of the complexity of this meaning of cultural capital, it will not be utilized.

Similar dimensions of analysis will be applied with respect to teachers including their (a) socio-economic and cultural background; (b) views about curriculum, methods of instruction, and inservice training; (c) expectations about adults as learners and about their educational and occupational future; and (d) current teaching practices.

The clientele of "policy takers" will be interviewed to ascertain their (a) reasons for becoming involved in the program; (b) educational and occupational aspirations (including perceived value orientations); and (c) self-assessment of the returns which they have received as a result of their participation in an adult education training program, particularly in connection with their income levels, upward job mobility, communication skills and lifeskills, and socio-political consciousness.

Finally, assessments will be made of the (a) economic returns of adult education training that have been provided, (b) different factors that account for the "educability" of the types of participants in these programs; and (c) shortcomings of the adult education system regarding the needs of the students.

Research Questions and Assumptions

The assumptions and research questions giving direction to this three-country study fall into four categories. Some examples follow.

Cultural Capital of Social Actors

It is assumed that there will be significant class differences in terms of: (a) the actors' perceptions of the usefulness of adult education and its economic social returns and (b) in the overall *cultural capital* of each social group. These differences may emerge as discrepancies between the *world view* of the three groups of respondents in each country. Moreover, it is assumed that the largest differences in values and perceptions will not be between the policy makers and the other two groups, particularly the clientele. A number of questions arise from these two assumptions.

First, to what extent and in what ways would the different perspective of the policy makers be expressed in policy decisions? Would their policy decisions take into account the other actors' self-perceived goals or would they use a bureaucratic and/or political rationale which might differ sharply from the rationale of the other groups? Second, to what extent would such differences help to explain problems in communication between actors at different levels of the system as well as inconsistencies in their perceptions about what was planned, implemented, and achieved? Third, will changes occur in the actors' perceptions during the course of the investigation? If so, what kinds of changes took place and how did they influence or alter the policy process, programs, communications, expectations, and outcomes?

Policy Rationales and Policy Makers

It is expected that the explanations for organizing the particular adult education programs to be examined in the study will be similar to one or more combinations of the following reasons that have been systematically discussed elsewhere (Torres & Unsicker, 1987): (a) these programs are the

state's response to explicit needs and demands expressed by the adults themselves or voiced by organizations such as the church or interest groups on behalf of the larger society; (b) they represent the implementation of a constitutional mandate for the state to supply education to adult citizens as part of its responsibility to expand and improve educational opportunities for all; (c) they are part of a state strategy to use policy planning in adult education to solve social problems such as poverty, unemployment, and the like;⁸ and/or (d) they represent an educational investment by helping people to become better trained and thereby improve their chances in the labor market.

A further assumption is that there will be substantial similarity in the explanations advanced by adult education policy makers in Alberta, Mexico, and Tanzania irrespective of their organizational affiliation or expertise.

Teachers' Roles and Perceptions

It has long been accepted that the quality of adult education depends in large measure on the quality of inputs. Particularly crucial is the nature of the teaching force—their training, motivation, commitment, and experience, as well as the extent of their involvement in the decision making process. However, this study is built on two assumptions that run contrary to this pervasive belief: (a) teachers in adult education programs are seldom systematically consulted in the decision making process and (b) the experience teachers accumulate from working in adult education programs is rarely taken into account in policy making.

Based on these twin assumptions, six hypotheses will be explored. First, that marked differences in the cultural capitals of policy makers and teachers will result in ineffective communication between these two groups. Second, that teachers who work directly with the native population or in rural areas will evidence a higher degree of dissatisfaction with the consultation processes and with the hierarchical structures in adult education than do teachers who work in urban settings and/or with a more diverse clientele. Third, that adult education teachers will tend to see their activity as "second class" because it is a second-chance education for individuals who have failed to do better within the formal system (Jarvis, 1985). Fourth, that teachers in non-native rural settings will be more satisfied with the way the programs are planned and implemented than those working with native rural populations, but they will be less satisfied than teachers in the urban settings. Fifth, that teachers who are younger and relatively "new" in the system will perceive themselves as having a stronger commitment to adult education than those who are older and more experienced. Sixth, that despite differences in their cultural capital and participation in the policy making and program development process, teachers will differ little from policy makers in the way that they define and explain the policy planning rationale for adult education programs.

Clients' Expectations and Perceptions

It is assumed that the clientele of academic and skill upgrading will share one characteristic in common: they are likely to be members of the less ad-

vantaged groups, perhaps among the poorest in the societies selected for study. Thus the project will attempt to determine whether these persons do look on adult education as a way out of their present economic and social situation. Because it has been argued that adult education is more likely to be a means for social mobility in urban areas and among those that are employed and have more stable and secure jobs (La Belle & Verhine, 1976), this hypothesis will also be tested. A third related hypothesis is that the reasons given by clients for enrolling in programs will differ from those advanced by policy makers, and perhaps even by teachers, about why these individuals chose to enroll.

In addition to examining these three hypotheses, many other aspects of the clients' expectations and perceptions will be addressed. These include, for example, assessing their degree of satisfaction with the programs as well as determining how their assessments compare with those of policy makers and teachers; gathering their opinions about the value of the skills and knowledge they have gained and the use being made of them; and ascertaining if they have experienced improvements in income, occupational mobility, quality of life, and the like.

Concluding Comment

This research is designed to yield more than policy prescriptions. It will also address policies within the more theoretical debate of the dialectics between systems and structural constraints in adult education vis-à-vis the transformative role of human agency including its limits and possibilities in the social and educational contexts of the study (Anyon, 1981; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). This does not imply a naive perspective or lack of knowledge of the structural constraints that policy makers face in increasingly bureaucratized, routine-oriented state structures. Rather, it reflects the belief that even in highly-complex organizational systems there is always some room for movement toward a more participative policy planning process in adult education that will help to expand the degrees of freedom for individuals and facilitate the development of contemporary societies.

Notes

1. The research project on Adult Education Policy Implementation is financed by the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, with contributions from the University of Alberta, the University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), and the Center for Educational Research (CER Mexico).
2. The research on values in sociology of education has focused on the notion of values-orientation developed by Kluckhohn. These are defined as "complex but definitely patterned ... principles ... which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts, as these relate to the solution of common human problems" (cited in Banks, 1968, p. 81).
3. This notion of cultural capital, which has been popularized by Bourdieu's writings, refers to the
different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies that individuals inherit by way of the class-located boundaries of their family. A child inherits, from his or her family, those sets of meanings, qualities of style, modes of thinking, and types of dispositions that are assigned a certain social value and status in accordance with what the dominant class(es) label as the most valued cultural capital. (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 80)

4. Because we attempt to combine the structuralist notion of cultural capital and habitus with the more psychological behavioral-oriented concept of value orientation, some epistemological problems may arise. For instance, is it possible that an individual may share a given value orientation that may not be expected taking into account his or her cultural capital? The problem has two main parts: (a) Are these two notions so distinct in their theoretical construct and empirical expressions to have no analytical value when integrated in the same analytical framework? and (b) Is cultural capital (which has always been defined in the context of structural analysis) measurable using conventional empirical methods?
5. Includes an analysis of their job experience, education, and family background.
6. The debate about what constitutes an ideology or whether ideology and a so-called world view could be synonymous is widespread. In this inquiry, ideology is neither understood as a synonym for culture nor simply as class-consciousness or false consciousness. Initially, a working definition of ideology that comes close to the more common notion of world view will be adopted.
7. According to Goulet (1986), a rationale is an instrumental guide for action. He has distinguished three different practical rationales: a political rationale, a technical rationale, and an ethical rationale. The question to be answered is: What rationale prevails in designing and implementing these programs?
8. Henry Levin (1980) offers a forceful analysis of this technocratic approach to planning.

References

- Almond, G., & Verba, S. (1963). *The civic culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Anyon, J. (1981). Schools as agencies of social legitimization. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 3(2), 86-103.
- Arnové, R. (1987). *Education and revolution in Nicaragua*. New York: Praeger.
- Aronowitz, S., & Giroux, H. (1985). *Education under siege*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvin.
- Bacchus, M.K. (1976). Some observations on social structure and craft training in economically less developed countries. *Canadian and International Education*, 5(2), 109-123.
- Banks, O. (1968). *The sociology of education*. Guilford: Billing and Sons.
- Bhola, H. (1984). *Campaigning for literacy*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carney, R.J. (1984). Toward a history of schooling. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 43(3), 293-301.
- Carnoy, M., & Levin, H. (1985). *Schooling and work in the democratic state*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Chiot, D. (1977). *Social change in the twentieth century*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Goulet, D. (1986). Three rationalities in development decision making. *World Development*, 14(2), 301-317.
- Jarvis, P. (1985). *The sociology of adult and continuing education*. London: Croom Helm.
- Kluckhohn, R.R., & Strodtbeck, F.L. (1961). *Variations in value orientation*. Chicago: Row, Peterson.
- La Belle, T.J. (1986). *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, reform, or revolution?* New York: Praeger.
- La Belle, T.J., & Verhine, R. (1976). Educación no-formal y estratificación ocupacional: Implicaciones para América Latina. *La Universidad en el Mundo*, 3(14), 7-27.
- Levin, H. (1980). Workplace democracy and educational planning. In *Education, Work and Employment: Vol. 2* (pp. 127-156). Paris: UNESCO.
- Nyerere, J.K. (1973). *Freedom and development*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.
- Poulantzas, N. (1978). *Poder político y clases sociales en el estado capitalista*. Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Pye, L.W., & Verba, S. (1965). *Political culture and political development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Torres, C.A. (1987). *Toward a political sociology of adult education: An agenda for research on adult education policy making*. CIED Occasional Paper, Department of Educational Foundations. Edmonton: University of Alberta.

- Torres, C.A., & Unsicker, J. (1987, February). *Adult education as political education*. Paper presented to the International Congress on Political Education, Villahermosa, Tabasco, Mexico.
- Unsicker, J. (1987). *Adult education, socialism and international aid in Tanzania: The political economy of the Folk Development College*. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
- Wagner, D. (1986). Book Review. *Comparative Education Review*, 2, 450-454.

INTERCHANGE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF EDUCATION

Interchange is an externally refereed journal published by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Under the editorship of Ian Winchester, philosopher and historian in OISE's Department of Higher Education, it provides a forum for intelligent discussion on issues and trends in the field of education. Every issue (four per year) features scholarly articles, critical notices, book reviews, and "interchanges" in which authors debate important topics.

RECENT ISSUES

Vol. 18 (1987)

- Understanding Literacy (Double Issue), Guest Editor David R. Olson
- Implications of Body Metaphors for Movement Education — Customs, Cultures, and Beliefs — Canadian Public Issues Approach to Moral Education
- Unification of Psychology and Pedagogy — Binet and the Nature of Intelligence

Vol. 19 (1988)

- Symposium on Educational Research — Liberalism and Public Education — History of Inquiry and Social Reproduction
- The Pro-Feminist Teacher — Theories of Curriculum — A Systems Perspective on the Classroom
- Educational Reform East and West (Double Issue)

1988 Rates (for 4 issues)

(Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter)

Individuals	\$30.00
Institutions	\$40.00
Outside North America add 25%	

Recent Contributors — Joseph Agassi, Michael W. Apple, Christian Bay, Carl Bereiter, Clive Beck, Hazel Francis, Henry Giroux, Thom Greenfield, Richard Hoggart, J. F. M. Hunter, Ivan Illich, John Keeves, Martin McLean, Kai Nielsen, Mary O'Brien, Frank Smith, Torsten Husén

To subscribe to *Interchange*, send a cheque or money order payable to OISE.

Publications Sales,
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
252 Bloor Street West,
Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1V6



Published by The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Canada

For Contributors

Please prepare manuscripts in accordance with these guidelines.

- Format**
- Manuscript in triplicate.
 - Typewritten, double-spaced throughout.
 - Abstract of approximately 100 words, on a separate sheet.
 - Manuscript not to exceed 6,500 words excluding graphics.
 - Author's name and affiliation on a separate title page; title only on first page of manuscript to ensure anonymity in the review process.
- Referencing**
- Sources in parentheses after each reference (direct or otherwise), giving author's name (unless mentioned in text), year of publication, and page number(s).
 - Direct quotes of 40 words or less in double quotation marks incorporated into text; those longer than 40 words in indented block format.
 - All sources listed alphabetically at the end of the manuscript under the heading *References* using the APA style.
 - Explanatory notes, numbered consecutively and marked in the text with superscript numerals, may appear before the References under the heading *Notes*; any citations in notes follow the same format as other references.
- Graphics**
- Each table and figure on a separate page at the end of the manuscript.
 - Figures, charts, and diagrams in camera-ready form.
 - Number tables in Arabic numerals and center *Table 1* over each heading.
 - Number figures in Arabic numerals before the caption at foot of each graph, e.g., *Figure 1: ...*
 - Indicate placement of figures and tables in text, i.e., *Insert Table 3 here.*
- Style**
- *AJER's* editorial style conforms closely to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*.
 - Editorial changes may be made to manuscripts.
 - For spelling, consult *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*; spelling in quoted material remains as in the original.
- Diskettes**
- If manuscript is produced on an IBM, IBM compatible, or Macintosh computer, please also send diskette. Microsoft Word, MultiMate, WordPerfect, WordStar, Xerox Writer, XyWrite, and DisplayWrite 3 are acceptable.

Submission to *AJER* implies the manuscript is not being considered for publication elsewhere.

AJER is indexed in the *Alberta Education Index*, *Canadian Education Index*, *Current Contents/Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *ERIC/Current Index to Journals in Education*, and *Social Science Citation Index*; appropriate articles are abstracted in *Cognitive Development Abstracts*, *Educational Administration Abstracts*, *Educational Technology Abstracts*, *Family Abstracts*, *Language Behavior Abstracts*, *Multicultural Education Abstracts*, *Psychological Abstracts*, *Research into Higher Education Abstracts*, *School Organization and Management Abstracts*, and *Sociology of Education Abstracts*, and reviewed by the *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education*.

